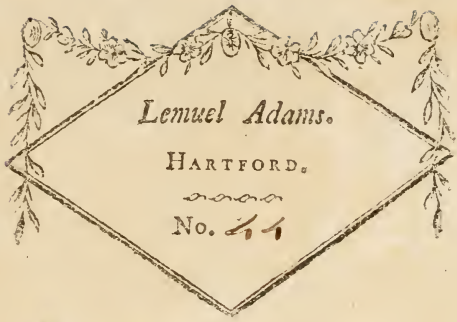

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CATO's LETTERS.

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M DCC XXIV.

ADAMS 234.8 v.4

CATO's

LETTERS.

SIR,

HAVE often thought, that moſt of the Miſchiefs under which Mankind ſuffers, and almoſt all their polemick Diſputes are owing to the Abuſe of Words. If Men would define what they mean by the Sounds they make uſe of to expreſs their Thoughts, and then keep to thoſe Definitions, that is, annex always the ſame Ideas to the ſame Sounds, moſt of the Diſputes in the World would be at an End; but this would not anſwer the Purpoſes of thoſe who derive Power and Wealth from impoſing upon the Ignorance and Credulity of others: And therefore, till the World can agree to be honeſt, and to buy and ſell by the ſame Mea-

ſure, (which they don't ſeem in Haſte to do) I doubt this Evil is likely to go on.

There are no Words in Language which ſeem to me to be more miſapply'd than the Word *Self-Intereſt*, by Divines, Orators, Philoſophers, or Poets: All have exerted themſelves with great Efforts of Exhortation, Reaſon, Eloquence, and Wit, againſt this reigning Vice; but, I conceive, they have all miſs'd the Mark. Indeed, in the larger Senſe of the Word, I think it is impoſſible for any Man to act upon any other Motive than his own Intereſt: For every Purſuit we make, muſt have for its End the Gratification of ſome Appetite, or the avoiding of ſome Evil we fear; and, in truth, when we ſay that any Man is ſelf-intereſted, we mean only that he is not enough in his own Intereſt.

A good-humour'd Man, when he pities another, gratifies a natural Paſſion, in having a Fellow-feeling of the Calamities of others, and a Deſire to ſee all Men out of Pain or Trouble. A generous Man pleaſes his Vanity, Oſtentation, or Temper, in doing good to others, or intends to gain Friends or Dependants. An indulgent Parent takes Pleaſure to ſee that his Children (whom he eſteems Parts of himſelf) live happy, contented, and make a Figure in the World, and derives Credit and Reputation to himſelf from their doing ſo. And a beneficent Patron, or a Man in Love, reaps great perſonal Satisfaction in obliging the Objects of his Kindneſs, and by making them more devoted to himſelf: And all theſe pity or contemn one who wants theſe agreeable

ble Appetites, and moſt reaſonably judge, that he wants many Pleaſures which they themſelves enjoy; as well knowing, that, next to the Preſervation of their Beings by wholeſome Food and warm Raiment, and the enjoying the common Neceſſaries and uſual Diverſions of Life, all that can be added to their Happineſs, is to obtain Reſpect, Love, and Eſteem from others.

Even all the worſt Paſſions flow from the ſame Source. For what is Hatred, Malice, and Revenge, but gratifying vitious Appetites? And Fear and Cowardice are only Struggles in Nature to avoid Evils to our ſelves. Of all Men, the covetous Man is the moſt unhappy: For as every Pleaſure is the Gratification of ſome Appetite or Deſire, the Man who has leaſt Deſires and Appetites, muſt have the leaſt Pleaſures, and he muſt loſe many agreeable Senſations which other Men enjoy. I laugh at the fooliſh Philoſophy of ſome Sects in old *Greece*, who plac'd the *Summum Bonum*, or chief Happineſs, in the Abſence of all Paſſions or Deſires; which can be only a State of Death, or perfect Stupidity, whilſt we are alive. Men exceed Vegetables no otherwiſe than as they think; and when they ceaſe to think, (if that can be) they are in a temporary State of Death; and the Objects of all Thinking muſt be ſomething we deſire to attain, or fear to loſe: And as Thought it ſelf is only a Motion of the Mind, ſo one Motion muſt produce another, as every Thought muſt do, and be perpetually progreſſive, till Death puts an End to all Thoughts. Here Covetouſneſs

tousneſs therefore can only proceed from a Poorneſs and Dejection of Soul, which always fears Want and Miſery, and muſt ever be bereft of all lively and ſparkling Imaginations, be in a conſtant State of Diffidence and Deſpondency, and loſe all the gay, chearful, and generous Senſations which flow from a free, active, happy, and beneficent Mind.

I muſt take the Liberty therefore to think, that the Word *Self-Intereſt*, in the ill Senſe of the Word, ought to be new defin'd, and be made applicable only to thoſe who prefer a ſmall Intereſt to a great one, or to ſuch who take a wrong Way to attain that great one: And in this latter Senſe the Bigot is the moſt ſelf-intereſted Perſon in the World: His whole Thoughts are ſo wound up in himſelf, and his own perſonal Views, that he is wholly regardleſs of what becomes of the reſt of the World, unleſs he can find his own Benefit in it. Indeed he will give ſome looſe Pence to Beggars, or Vagabonds, and perhaps Sums to maintain Idlers and Cynicks, not out of Humanity and generous Principles, but in order to put it out to large Intereſt, I do not mean for Five or Six *per Cent.* but for more than ſixty Times ſixty Thouſand; though if a Nation is to be ſaved, or a great People protected from Slavery, he is wholly unconcern'd about the Event, as eſteeming the little Affairs of this World much below his Notice and Conſideration.

He is the ſame in reſpect of the other World, as the covetous Man is in reſpect of this, and both their good Qualities proceed from

from the ſame Principles and Appetites in Nature. He is covetous for the good Things in the Kingdom of Heaven, as the other is for them here; and both take much the ſame Way to get them. They both contemn wiſe Men, becauſe wiſe Men contemn them: Their deſpiſing the Vanities of the World ſaves Money; their condemning the modeſt Pleaſures of Life gratifies their ſour and cenſorious Tempers; their living cloiſter'd, and retir'd Lives, feed natural Melancholly; and the former Hopes to carry Heaven (which the other does not Trouble himſelf about) by ſinging Songs upon Earth, by being perfectly uſeleſs to Society, and good for no one Thing in the World.

This Sort of Creature is the Tool for Knaves to work with, and made uſe of to ſerve their Intereſts, whilſt he intends only to purſue his own. He is made to believe that Kingdoms, infinitely preferable to thoſe of this World, are to be gain'd by the Manner of cutting his Corns, or by Forms, Faſhions, Habits, Poſtures, Cringes and Grimaces; by uſing a Rote of Words, or by uſeleſs Speculations, and dancing after idle Harangues, and always by being an implacable Enemy, and a furious Adverſary to all who have generous and beneficent Affections towards their own Species. He values Opinions like rotten Cheeſe, in proportion as they are old, and is more concern'd for People's believing Right, than for their doing Right. He thinks the Way to ſhew our Gratitude to God, is to refuſe his Gifts; and believes

Truth the more ſacred the leſs 'tis underſtood, and nothing worthy to be call'd Faith but what is abſurd to Reaſon, and contradicts all the Principles of Science. He is a faſt Friend to every Thing that looks like a Myſtery, and thinks common Senſe too common, and ſublime Nonſenſe to be always a Proof of Inſpiration. He meaſures Virtue and Vice, Right and Wrong, not by the Intereſts of Mankind, but by ſcanty and partial Rules invented by Pedants and Hypocrites, and calculated chiefly for their own Benefit. He is a Friend to no Man, and all his Thoughts and Speculations are above Humanity and ſocial Pleaſures, and all the frail Things of this World; and ſo he keeps all his Money to himſelf, and, at laſt, perhaps, ſtarves his Friends and Family, to leave it to ſuch Wretches as he is, not out of Kindneſs to them, but to receive ample Payment again where he is going.

I have often wonder'd how this ſtupid Animal could ever be in Repute; how the moſt inſignificant and worſt Being in the Univerſe could be thought the moſt acceptable to the beſt, and how any one can be ſuppos'd to merit Heaven, by being uſeleſs upon Earth. *Caſtruchio Caſtracani* ſaid well, That he could never believe that Friar *Hieronomo* had more Intereſt above than he himſelf had; and ſure he judg'd right; yet the World ever have run, and, I doubt, ever will run, madding after Hermits, Cynicks, Dreamers of Dreams, Belchers of Prophecy, and recluſe and ſequeſtred Perſons, who are ſuppos'd to know heavenly Things

Things in Proportion as they know nothing here. They call their ſolemn Folly, divine Wiſdom; their Spleen and Melancholy, godly Contemplation; their envious, ſullen, and moroſe Tempers, ſtrict and rigid Virtue, and a Deteſtation of Vice; and Covetouſneſs is Frugality, and the Contempt of Things below. Whereas a truly virtuous and godly Man, is the moſt candid, amiable, and beſt-natur'd Creature upon Earth: He ſpends his Life in doing all the Good he can, and to all the Men he can: He takes Pleaſure in ſeeing all Men happy, and will endeavour to make them all happy: He has large and comprehenſive Notions of the Deity, and as he finds in himſelf kind and beneficent Affections towards the whole Creation, believes that the ſupreme Being has the ſame, and, conſequently, will not make our Happineſs or Miſery to depend upon what is out of our Power, or upon ſuch Speculations or Actions as can produce no moral Good, but often deſtroy it, and promote Evil.

God wants nothing, and if we have any Gifts to beſtow, his Creatures are our only proper Objects: but thoſe who crave in his Name Largeſſes and Endowments, which they apply to their own Uſe and Luxury, and call their own Luxury and Pomp the ſerving of him, make the Almighty as greedy as they are, and the Giver of all Things, to want almoſt every Thing; and confining all their Bounty and Charity to their own dear Perſons, think that he does ſo too, and that they are as dear to him as they are to themſelves;

ſelves; and ſo hate and deſpiſe, diſtreſs and deſtroy, in the Name of God, all whom they hate for their own Sakes: So that, excepting a very few Men, (the moſt ridiculous and the worſt of the whole) all the human Species are eſteem'd by them as Outcaſts, whom the wiſe Creator and Governor of the World has ſent into it only to abhor and to damn them; and tho' his Favours are infinite, yet they think that he beſtows them all upon a little Iſland, or a poor Deſart, or on a little and contemptable Corner of the Earth, purely becauſe the Inhabitants wear blue, or black, or broad Bonnets, quaint Doublets, or long Petticoats, and eat, or refuſe to eat Fiſh or Fleſh, and other Food given for the general Uſe of all Men; and make ſelfiſh and partial Speeches to him, and uſe crazy Diſtinctions about him, which he commands not, and which wiſe Men underſtand not, and which the weakeſt Men alone are govern'd by.

With the Bigots almoſt every Thing that is Truth is Blaſphemy; and with them, a ſour Face, and a bitter and implacable Heart are Qualifications ſo acceptable to the wiſe, merciful, and forgiving God, that he hates all who want them; ſo that in great Deteſtation of Blaſphemy, they blaſphemouſly make the God and Father of Mercies and of Man, a Party-Man too, or, at beſt, the Head of the moſt ſenſeleſs, uſeleſs, inhuman, and miſchievous Party in the Univerſe, the Party of Bigots; who being blindly and obſtinately addicted to their own incurable Follies, are furiouſly bent againſt all the wiſe and ſober Men

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in the World: They improve the World by defacing it, and their Way of building up, is to deſtroy and pull down: This they call Edification.

But Religion is another, and a contrary Thing, and whoever would entertain a juſt Idea of the Divine Being, muſt conceive of him in direct Oppoſition to the Bigot's Conceptions, *viz.* That the God of Truth is not the Author of Contradictions; That when he ſpeaks to Men, he ſpeaks not above the Capacities of Men, but to their Capacities, which is the End of Speaking; That he who makes the Hearts of Men, is the beſt and only Judge of Mens Hearts, who cannot ſee into one another's, that being the only Province and Privilege of Omniſcience; That his perfect Goodneſs cannot puniſh Men, whom he has created naturally ſubject to Errors, for involuntary Errors; That having not made Man perfect, he cannot be offended with him for natural and inevitable Imperfections.

That we cannot provoke him when we intend to adore him, That the beſt Way to ſerve him, is to be ſerviceable to one another, he himſelf, who is Omnipotent, wanting none of our impotent Aſſiſtance and Benefits, which muſt come from him, but cannot go from us to him; That to hurt Men, or betray them for his Sake, is to mock him, and impiouſly to father upon the God of Wiſdom and Peace, our own Rage and Folly: That to him neither Sounds, nor Geſtures, nor Actions, are good or bad, pleaſing or diſpleaſing, but as the Intentions from whence they ſpring are

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ſincere or inſincere, of which he alone can be Judge:

That he who made the World has not reſtrained his Gifts, Favours, and Mercies, to a Nook of it, nor picks out from among Men, who are all his, a few particular Minions and Favourites, or gives them Authority to domineer over the reſt, and to oppreſs them in *his* Name, who is not the God of a Nation, or of a Sect, but of all Nations, Tongues, and Perſwaſions, and is heard of all that call upon him and fear him; That the only Way to pleaſe and reſemble him, is to do, as he does, Good to All impartially, and to reſtrain Men from hurting or perſecuting one another; And, in fine, That Anger, Revenge, and Ambition, are not Religion; nor the Author and Object of it an angry, partial, whimſical, and cruel Being; but that Religion is as different from Bigottry, and as far above it, as the wiſe, great, and good God is above weak, little, ill, and angry Men.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IT is a common Objection againſt Free States, that they are ungrateful: But I think I ſhall be able to ſhew the contrary, and that they are much more grateful than Arbi-

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trary Princes, and are rarely ungrateful but to those who use them ungratefully, and forfeit by it any Obligation they had laid upon them.

It is the chief and first Ambition of Free States to preserve themselves; and such as contribute most to that End amongst them, are generally placed by them in the first Stations of Figure and Power. But as Men generally over-rate their own Merit, publick Rewards, however great, are rarely so great as are the Expectations and Pretensions of Men to these Rewards: So that such as are preferr'd for serving, or for a Capacity of serving the Publick, are seldom preferr'd so high as they think they deserve; and being neither pleas'd with the Measure nor Duration of their Power, where it is not boundless and perpetual, they are apt to be struggling to make it so, tho' to the Ruin of those who gave it for their own Preservation; and to the overthrowing of every Purpose for which it was given. And when this is the Aim, as it too often is, the People grow presently very ungrateful, because they will not become Slaves to their own Servants. And here is the Source of most of the Contentions in the World between the Governors and the Governed. The People provoke their Rulers by a very heinous and ill-bred Crime, that of distinguishing between Protection and Oppression: For this they are ungrateful. They are ready enough almost every where to give their Governors too much; but that will not do. *Nero*, after he put off the Hypocrite, never

never conferr'd any Office upon any Man, but he always gave him these short Instructions: *You know what I have occasion for: Let it be your Care and mine that no Body else have any thing.* Nor was *Nero* the last that made a Power to protect Property, a Warrant for seizing it.

Gratitude is, doubtless, due from the obliged to those who oblige them, as long as they do not pretend to measure or force their own Reward, nor to use the others ill upon the pure Merit of having used them well. There is such a Thing as the cancelling an Obligation in publick, as well as in private Life; as when it is turn'd into an Injury, by being made the Means of Oppression, or a Pretence for Contempt, or Calumny. I would rather not be oblig'd, than abus'd for being oblig'd; and I believe most Men are of my Mind.

A State may sometimes over-pay a Benefactor; but scarce any Subject can do more for the State than he owes it. We owe all Things to our Country, because in our Country is contained every Thing that is dear to us, our Relations, our Fortunes, and our selves: And our Labours, our Studies, and our Lives are all due, upon Occasion, to our Country, which protects us in them all. But when we have dedicated all these to the State, it is far from being true, that the State ought to sacrifice itself, or venture any Part of its Security, to make us recompense. To save it from others, in order to seize it our selves, is so far from entitling us to any Reward but that of Resentment and Death, that as it is adding the

the baſe Crimes of Treachery and Ingratitude to the cruel Crime of Uſurpation, no foreign Foe can be half ſo wicked and deteſtable as ſuch an inteſtine Traytor, who calls himſelf a Friend.

Spurius Mælius thought himſelf an unqueſtionable Benefactor to the *Roman* People, for having beſtowed on them *gratis* a large Quantity of Corn in a Time of Dearth; by which falſe Bounty he gain'd the Hearts of the many, who ſaw not into his Deſign of bribing and feeding them, in order to enſlave them. But *Servilius Ahala*, who kill'd him, was a much greater and a real Benefactor, becauſe in *Mælius* he ſlew their moſt dangerous Enemy. *T. Manlius* defended the Capitol bravely and generouſly; but when, not content with the many Honours that were done him for a worthy Action, he would have unworthily oppreſſed *Rome* itſelf for having ſaved Part of it, he was juſtly thrown headlong from that very Capitol.

Cæſar and *Marius* were the moſt ungrateful Monſters that ever liv'd: They had done brave Things, not for the State, as the Event ſhew'd, but for themſelves; and the State cover'd them with Honours, adorn'd them with Magiſtracies and Triumphs, loaded them with Benefits, and purſued them, even to Profuſion, with all publick and ſplendid Marks of Reſpect. But all this could not ſatisfy theſe ſhameleſs Great Men, unleſs they had a Power granted them perpetual and enormous, a Power deſtructive of all Liberty, and of the State

State that gave it. And so they barbarously oppress'd the State that exalted them.

On what Side, in this Instance, did the Ingratitude lie? Is there a Pretence for charging that generous People with this base Vice, or for acquitting these Parricides from the blackest? If the Prince of *Orange*, having at the Head of the *Dutch* Troops, driven the invading *French* out of Seven Provinces, had enslav'd the States with their own Forces, because, perhaps, they had refused to deliver up their Government to his Will and Pleasure, and to give him a Power to oppress them, as a Reward for having defended them: Who would have been ungrateful in this Case? the Prince or the States? They for refusing to be Slaves, or he for making them Slaves?

The People lose much more by their Generosity to their Benefactors, than the Benefactors lose by the Ingratitude or Stinginess of the People, whose Fault is almost always on the other Side. By giving them too much, they often tempt, and enable them to take all; as in the Cases of *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Cæsar*, *Pisistratus*, *Agathocles*, *Oliver Cromwell*, the late Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and many more. But suppose it had happen'd sometimes (which has rarely happen'd) that a worthy Man should not meet a proper Reward from his Countrymen, for publick Services done them; it is still better that he has too little, or even none, than too much; and a worthy Man will never seek Revenge upon his Country for a Mistake in his Merit; a Mistake which may be easily committed, and is at worst pardonable. But

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a Man who has ſerv'd his Country, and then turns it upſide down, becauſe it has not, or he thinks it has not, given him Reward enough, ſhews that he deſerv'd none.

Sometimes a Man's ill Deeds ballance his good; and then he pays himſelf; or overballance them, and then he is entitled more to Puniſhment than Reward; and both Rewards and Puniſhments ought to be faithfully paid, tho' there is generally more Crime and Inſecurity in not puniſhing well, than in not paying well, — a Fault too frequent in Free States, who, dazzled with great Benefits, are often blind to greater Offences, or overlook them, and reward before they enquire.

The deareſt and moſt valuable Things, are moſt apt to create Jealouſies and Fears about them; and the deareſt of all being Liberty, as that which produces and ſecures all the reſt, the People's Zeal to preſerve it has been ever call'd Ingratitude, by ſuch as had Deſigns againſt it; and others, ignorant of its Value, or indifferent about it, have promoted and continued the falſe Charge. *Shakeſpear*, in the Tragedy of *Timon* of *Athens*, makes *Alcibiades*, who was baniſh'd by that State, cry out with Indignation, *Oh the ungrateful Spirit of a Commonwealth!* And I have ſeen a loud and vehement Clap rais'd upon it by thoſe who were angry at the Word *Commonwealth*, tho' they liv'd under a Free Government: For every Free State is, in a large Senſe, a Commonwealth; and I think our own the freeſt in the World. In my Opinion, *Alcibiades*, tho' a brave Man, was juſtly exil'd as

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an ambitious and dangerous Man, who behav'd himself turbulently in that City, and was perpetually creating or inflaming Factions in it, and against it, and shew'd too plainly, that he aim'd at over-turning it for the Sake of that uncontroulable Power, which he could not have while its Government subsisted. The Citizens of *Athens* treated him with great Distinctions, and gave him great Authority and eminent Commands, and only banish'd him, out of Fear of him, for which they had too much Ground.

States have been often destroy'd by being too generous and too grateful; and where they are really ungrateful, they are only so through Error; to which however they are not so subject as absolute Princes, who generally destroy their greatest Men, and prefer the vilest; and in their Courts Pimps often ruin Patriots. I think those, who most dislike free Governments, do not pretend to shew above four or five Instances of Ingratitude in the *Roman* People, from the Beginning of their Commonwealth to the End of it, for several hundred Years; and *Coriolanus* and *Camillus* are two of those Instances.

As to *Coriolanus*, he was justly banish'd, as a declar'd Enemy to the Equality of the Government, and engag'd in an open Design to oppress the People; which Design he executed with all Fierceness and Contempt, and even Outrage, surrounded like a Monarch, with Guards of the young hot-headed Nobility: And tho' the People did him no Injustice, yet to be reveng'd upon them, he invaded

vaded his Country at the Head of a foreign Enemy.

Camillus was guilty of the ſame Partiality, tho' not in the ſame Degree, towards the Nobles, and had broke his Word with the People; for both which he was baniſh'd: But by ſaving his Country afterwards, he glorioufly cancell'd all paſt Faults, and was gratefully ſtyl'd the ſecond Founder of *Rome*, and highly honour'd, and even ador'd to the End of his Life, by that grateful People in every Inſtance where they could ſhew it. And, indeed, all the Ingratitude that can be charg'd upon them, was, their oppoſing in their own Defence, the Encroachments of the Nobility; and the excellent Laws produc'd by that Oppoſition, ſhew'd its Reaſonableneſs and Neceſſity.

Scipio Africanus, is likewiſe mention'd as another great Inſtance of Ingratitude in the *Romans*. He was a great and glorious Commander: He had forc'd *Hannibal*, the moſt dangerous foreign Foe the *Romans* ever had, out of *Italy*, which he had ravag'd ſucceſsfully many Years; he had conquer'd the ſame *Hannibal* in Battle, and ſubdued *Carthage* and *Africa*, and he had aſſiſted his Brother *Aſiaticus* in conquering the great King *Antiochus*. For which extraordinary Services and Merit, he was the Darling of the People, who were ſo far from being ungrateful to him, that they violated the Laws of *Rome*, and of their own Security, to do him Honour, and not only made a Youth their chief Magiſtrate, but renew'd the Dignity ſo often, that the Precedent prov'd pernicious

nicious to them: And the extraordinary Steps taken by him and them, and by them for his Sake, were of dangerous Example and Conſequence, and, without his intending it, ſhook the Foundations of *Rome*, and made Way for the violent Proceedings and Uſurpations of *Marius*, and afterwards of *Cæſar*.

Scipio did likewiſe another Thing, which ought by no Means to have been ſuffer'd in a Free State. When he was cited to anſwer before the People, to the Crimes with which he was charg'd, he refus'd to anſwer. *Upon this very Day, my Countrymen*, ſays he, *I vanquiſh'd* Hannibal; and tearing the Papers that contain'd the Charge, walk'd haughtily out of the Aſſembly. This was diſowning, or contemning the ſupreme Authority of *Rome*; and yet the People were ſo perſonally fond of the Man, that they would decree nothing ſevere againſt him. He retir'd to his own Country-Houſe, where he liv'd peaceably all the reſt of his honourable Life.

I am, &c.

SIR,

NO People upon Earth were more grateful to their good Citizens than the *Greeks* and *Romans* were, or encourag'd Virtue more, or rewarded it better: Nor did they ſcarce ever baniſh any Man till he became terrible to them;

them; and then it was Time. Nor is there one great absolute Monarchy in the World, or ever was from the Beginning of it, but destroys more innocent Men in a Month, than the Commonwealth of *Rome* did in a hundred Years; besides that, a free State produces more great Men in fifty Years, than an absolute Monarchy does in a thousand.

Those who had done any signal good Service to the State of *Athens*, were endow'd with eminent Privileges, and distinguish'd with all publick Marks of Honour: They had the first Seats at publick Entertainments and Assemblies; they had publick Statues erected to them; they had Crowns conferr'd upon them; they were exempted from Duties, Taxes, and Contributions; they were maintain'd at the publick Charge, and sometimes their Families after them: The Publick resented the Injuries done them; buried them magnificently; made publick Orations in their Praise; portion'd out their Daughters, and paid lasting Honours to their Name. And all this at a Time when publick Honours were only the Rewards of Merit, and parsimoniously distributed.

The *Athenians* had a particular Law against Ingratitude: And as to the *Ostracism*, which may seem to contradict it, and by which they banish'd for ten Years, such great Men as they judg'd formidable to their State, tho' they had formerly serv'd it; it ought to be consider'd in its Behalf, that the *Athenians*, like other Free States, had suffer'd so much from their First-Rate Citizens, who suppress'd their Liberty under Colour of advancing it, that they

they had great Reaſon to be jealous of them. Whoever would live in a Free State, muſt live upon a Foot of Equality, which great Officers, accuſtom'd to command, care not to do; and if they do not, they are juſtly remov'd. It is better that one Man, however innocent, ſhould ſuffer, than a whole People be ruin'd, or even hurt, if not by him, yet by his Example: Nor ought they to ſhew, in one Inſtance that cannot harm them, an Indulgence, which in other, and future Inſtances, may be their Overthrow. Beſides, the *Oſtraciſm* took nothing from any Man, but a Power of hurting every Man: It affected not their Goods, nor their Perſons, nor even their good Name; and left them their full Poſſeſſions, and their full Liberty every where but at *Athens*, whither after ten Years, they had a Right to return, and were often recall'd much ſooner. It was likewiſe made uſe of ſometimes, only to pacify the Fury of the Envious, and to protect the Innocent from it; and when baſe Fellows came at laſt to be baniſh'd by it, it was laid aſide.

The firſt Purpoſe of the *Oſtraciſm* was to keep publick Benefactors from turning publick Parricides, great Men from being too great, and Subjects from growing too powerful for the State; — a reaſonable Precaution, and practis'd ſome Way or other by every State in the World: Nor can any State ſubſiſt where it is not practis'd. Even in *England*, the hanging of two or three great Men among the many guilty, once in a Reign or two, would have prevented much Evil, and many

many Dangers and Oppreſſions, and ſav'd this Nation many Millions.

If we now conſider abſolute Monarchy, we ſhall find it grafted upon Ingratitude, which is blended with the Root of it. Arbitrary Princes cannot, dare not, be grateful to elevated Merit, which by the Tenour of their Power they are oblig'd to dread. They only conſider their ſingle Selves, and their ſeparate Intereſts, and muſt cut off, for their own Security, every Man whoſe true Glory may eclipſe their falſe, and who draws away, in any Degree, the Thoughts and Eyes of the People. If they have no Magnanimity of their own, they hate or fear ſuch as have; or if they are brave themſelves, they will be jealous of thoſe who are more ſo, or as much. The ſame may be ſaid of every other Virtue. They may heap Wealth upon Buffoons, and confer Dignities upon Paraſites; but celebrated Virtue, conſpicuous Abilities, and ſignal Services, are their Eye-Sores, and certain Averſion. If they are hated, they will not bear that any one ſhall be eſteem'd; and if they are valued themſelves, they will hate Rivals.

Under moſt of the *Roman* Emperors, popular Virtue was certain Death, *Ob virtutes certiſſimum exitium*; and thoſe who ſerv'd them moſt, were ſureſt of Deſtruction, *Nec minus Periculum ex magna Fama quam ex mala. Germanicus*, who ſav'd the Empire to *Tiberius*, his Uncle and Father by Adoption, by reconciling to him the mutinous and revolted Legions, was the firſt great Sacrifice to his Jealouſy, being poiſon'd in *Aſia*, whither he was ſent under

under pretence of Commanding it. And thus *Nero* rewarded *Corbulo*, and thus *Domitian* rewarded *Agricola*; both the greateſt Officers of their Time, and the greateſt Benefactors to theſe ungrateful Tyrants, who aim'd at cutting up Virtue by the Roots: Nor did *Veſpaſian*, the firſt *Roman* Emperor, that chang'd for the better, prove much more grateful to *Antonius Primus*, who had ſignally ſerv'd him, and pav'd his Way to the Imperial Diadem.

It were endleſs to mention other abſolute Monarchies. They are all animated by the ſame ungrateful, cruel and ſuſpicious Spirit, and make Havock of every Thing that is good, deſtroying faſteſt thoſe who ſerve them moſt. If they are ever grateful, they are only ſo to the vileſt Inſtruments of their Tyranny; but for ſuch as ſerve them againſt their foreign Foes with juſt and popular Glory, they are generally ſacrific'd to their endleſs Jealouſy of every Thing that is Noble. *Belliſarius* is an affecting Inſtance of this, an illuſtrious General, who, in the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, did, as it were, new-conquer the World for his Royal Maſter; and, for a Reward, was ſtripp'd of all that he had, and turn'd off to beg his Bread with his Eyes put out.

It is a fine Obſervation of *Tacitus*, *Neque Nobilem, neque Ingenuum, neque Libertinum quidem preponere armis, regia utilitas eſt.* " It is " the Buſineſs and ſpecial Intereſt of an " arbitrary Prince, that his Forces be com- " manded, neither by a Nobleman, nor by a " Free Man, nor, indeed, by any Man who

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" is two Degrees remov'd from a Slave. " Or, if such Princes are oblig'd by the Necessity of their Affairs, to employ an illustrious Person in an important Command; they always employ him with Fear; and when their Turn is serv'd, and he has made them safe, dismiss him into Obscurity with Contempt, if he escapes so well; for all their Suspicions generally end in Blood. *Machiavel*, who knew this well, says, That a great and successful General, under an Arbitrary Prince, has but two Ways to escape the certain Ruin which his Glory, Services, and Renown, will else bring upon him: He must either quit the Army, and, retiring from all Power, live like a private Man; or depose his Master, and set up himself: Which last is generally the safer Course.

It is well known how the *Ottoman* Monarchs reward their bravest *Bassa*'s. The Successful and Unfortunate have the same Fate: As the latter are sacrific'd to Rage, the other are to Jealousy; and even their own Sons have been recompensed with Death, for deserving Esteem. Nor is that cruel Ingratitude peculiar to one Race or Family of Princes, but eternally attach'd to that Sort of Power wherever it is found.

But far different is the Spirit of the People: They are prone to Gratitude, and lavish in their Affections and Returns for Benefits receiv'd. Nothing is too much, nor too high for their Benefactor, or for one whom they think so. They are apt to continue blind to his Faults, even when he has forfeited their

Favour; and to remain constant in their Zeal to his Name and Posterity, in Instances where they ought to detest both. This is abundantly exemplified and confirm'd by the lasting Respect and Reverence paid by the *Romans*, to those Plagues of *Rome*, and of the Earth, the Family of the *Cæsars*; by the *French*, to the stupid and sanguinary Posterity of *Charlemain*; by the *Turks*, to the bloody Family of *Ottoman*; by the *Ægyptians*, to their luxurious and contemptible *Ptolomies*; by the *Jews*, to the cruel Race of the *Asmonæans*, or *Maccabees*; by the *Parthians*, to the barbarous Line of the *Arsacides*; and by almost every Instance of every People in the World. I could mention Instances here at Home, but they will occur fast enough to every Reader who knows any thing of our History. The People are indeed grateful and constant, even to Superstition, to Persons and Names to which they conceive themselves once obliged. Nor do they ever act ungratefully, but where they are first deceived by those whom they trust. The People of *Athens*, deceiv'd by some of their *Demagogues*, put once to Death some of their Sea Officers, who did not deserve it; but they soon grew appriz'd of their Error, and were severely reveng'd upon the traiterous Calumniators who caus'd it.

Several Instances may, no doubt, be found of the People's Ingratitude to their Friends, and of the contrary Quality in some Absolute Monarchs. But Exceptions do not weaken a Rule.

I am, &c.

SIR,

AS I have in former Papers treated of the Abuſe of Words; ſo I ſhall in this, Diſcourſe about the Uſe of them. They are the Signs of Ideas, as Figures are of Numbers, and are intended to convey Mens Conceptions to one another: They have no more Meaning in themſelves, than inarticulate Sounds, till Men have agreed to put a Meaning upon them, which is wholly Arbitrary; and therefore unleſs they mean the ſame Things by the ſame Words, that is, annex the ſame Conceptions to the ſame Sounds, they cannot underſtand one another, or diſcourſe together. If one Man annexes more or leſs Ideas to the ſame Words, than another does whom he reaſons with, it is impoſſible they ſhould agree in Concluſions; when their Premiſſes are different, their Reaſonings will be a Game at Blindman's-Buff: And therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary in all Diſputes, to ſettle the Meanings of the Terms made uſe of, before any Thing can be affirmed or denied on either Side.

A Word not ſtanding for any Idea, is only a bare Sound; and it is no more to one who does not know what Idea it ſtands for; and conſequently, the agreeing in Sounds, and not agreeing in the Meaning of them, is no

Agreement at all; and tho' this may be a good Teſt of Orthodoxy amongſt ſome Sets of Eccleſiaſticks, yet I will preſume to ſay, it is none in common Senſe. It appears to me, that moſt of the Polemick Quarrels in the World, have flow'd from this Inobſervance. Men uſe the ſame Sounds to expreſs different Conceptions, either in Whole, or in Part; that is, one Man comprehends more or leſs Ideas in the Terms he makes uſe of than another, and then makes uſe of other Words equally uncertain, to explain that Meaning; and ſo in a few Propoſitions quite looſes his Argument, and the Combatants quarrel about what they have been talking of: But tho' this Manner of Scuffling in the Dark, is a great Obſtruction, and almoſt an unſurmountable Bar to all ſorts of uſeful Knowledge, yet it highly conduces to the Power and Credit of thoſe who derive Riches and Authority from the Ignorance and Credulity of others.

It gives them the Reputation of Learning, for talking unintelligibly: It enables them to Diſcourſe upon all Subjects alike, and to fetch every thing out of every thing; for by not explaining their Words, they make them ſignify what they pleaſe, and vary them as often as they have Occaſion; ſo that in the Courſe of a Debate, they have ſail'd in all the Points of the Compaſs. This Abuſe is yet more obſervable and miſchievous in Tranſlations from one Language to another; for as few or no Men underſtand a dead Language, in many Reſpects, in the Senſe it was ſpoken in, (and indeed few Men of the ſame Country, and

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the same Language, speak many Words in the same Sense their Ancestors spoke them, the Meaning of Words, like all other Things, being in perpetual Rotation,) and as few Words in any Language which comprehend complex Ideas, are exactly answered by correspondent Words in any other, that is, they don't contain just the same Number of Ideas: So it is very difficult, if not impossible, in many Instances, to make an exact Translation; and consequently, very easy to make a false one; and therefore it is very ridiculous, to call it by no worse a Name, in controverted Points, to build an Hypothesis upon the Signification of single Words in a dead Language, (which, perhaps, was translated from another Language,) when we neither know their Manner of Speaking, the Philosophy and Speculations they were conversant with, nor the Customs to which they alluded, and are very sure they are different from our own, and in many Instances, that they had not the same common Conceptions, or Images.

But it is not enough that we must have what are often call'd Ideas to our Words, but they must be adequate ones; for all inadequate Ideas are no Ideas; that is, they must be adequate as far as they are Ideas: What stands for no Conception, stands for nothing; and the Word used, can only stand for the Conception, such as it is, and as far as it goes; and when the Conception goes no further, no Word can stand for that which is not. It is certain, that there is no one Thing in the Universe, of which we can have an adequate

Conception in the ſtrict Senſe of thoſe Words, but we convey by Words only ſuch Conceptions as we have, which poſſibly do not exhauſt the millionth Part of their Properties; but then we are in the Dark as to all the reſt, and neither can affirm or deny any Thing about them: And if one Man takes in more or leſs Ideas in the Term he makes uſe of than another, he does not talk with him *ad idem.*

One Man has no Conception of Gold but by the Colour, and he will call Princes-Metal Gold; another knows it by its Weight, Fineneſs, and Touch; and if a new Metal ſhould be diſcover'd, which anſwers all theſe Marks, and ſhould yet want ſome Medicinal Qualities, or, perhaps, the ſame Solubility as Gold has, yet he will notwithſtanding call it Gold, according to the Properties his Imagination has annexed to the Word Gold, and all theſe three will be call'd by the ſame Name, and yet different Metals will be meant; and every one of theſe Conceptions, as far as they go, are adequate, tho' neither of them are ſo to the Subject, which has undoubtedly many Properties which no one knows any thing of; but then we do not reaſon upon thoſe Properties, nor do the Sounds we uſe ſtand for them.

From what has been ſaid appears the Abſurdity of being told, that we muſt believe Things we do not underſtand; or of believing Things above Reaſon, though not contrary to Reaſon. We muſt have Ideas, or Images, of all Objects of Belief, or elſe we believe in nothing, but that we hear a Sound, and it is

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the ſame Thing to us whether it ſignifies any thing, or not, if we do not know what it ſignifies. If a Man makes a Propoſition to me in the *Chineſe* Language, and tells me that I muſt believe it, nothing here can be the Object of my Faith, but that the Man does not tell me a Lye, which has nothing to do with the Propoſition it ſelf; and it would have been the ſame Thing to me, if he had told me that I muſt believe in his Thought, without telling me what that Thought was; and there can be no Difference, if he uſes Words in a Language I am acquainted with, if I do not underſtand the Meaning in which he uſes thoſe Words.

From hence appears the Ridicule of a late Sect in *Holland*, and of many other viſionary Madmen at home, who think the Scripture is to be for the moſt Part underſtood metaphorically, and who find Meanings in it which the Words do not naturally import; which is making the Almighty ſpeak in Riddles to his Creatures, and obliging them to pay largely out of their Subſtance, to thoſe who make them yet greater Riddles. What can be more abſurd and wicked, than to ſuppoſe, that the great and good God, ſhould ſpeak to Mankind with a Deſign not to be underſtood; ſhould give them a Rule to act by, and yet expreſs that Rule in Words which few can pretend to apprehend, and thoſe few differ about. Certainly, as has been ſaid, Words are of no uſe but to convey Ideas; and if they are not us'd in their common Acceptation, and to ſignify thoſe Conceptions which Cuſtom has annex'd

to them, or such as Men shall agree to put upon them, then they must be perfectly useless, will convey no Ideas at all, can give us no Rule, nor can communicate any Knowledge.

It is certain, as has been said, that no Man's Perceptions can exhaust the Properties of any one Thing in the World: All that we know of them is from a few obvious Qualities which affect our Senses; but without doubt they have Thousands of others, of which we know nothing, much less can we know any thing of their *Substratum*, or internal Essence, or Contexture; but then we can believe nothing of those hidden Essences, or Qualities, nor do we mean any thing about them when we talk of any Being or Substance; as in the Instance before given: If a Man carries to a Goldsmith a solid Substance, and asks him what he thinks it is, and he looks upon the Colour, touches it, weighs it, and melts it, and then tells him he believes it is Gold; it is certain the Goldsmith neither believes nor affirms any thing about it, but of its Colour, its Touch, its Weight, and its Solubility, which are his Ideas of Gold: But Gold has, without question, many other Properties which he has never heard of; but then he does not take in those Properties in his Perception of Gold; and he neither does, nor can believe any thing about them, till he has formed some Idea of those hidden Qualities.

This leads me to consider what Men mean, when they say they believe in a Mystery. We must understand the Meaning of the Words connected, and of the Verb which connects them,

them, and makes them a Propoſition, or elſe we believe in nothing, that is, we muſt have a Perception of all thoſe Ideas the Words ſtand for in our Imaginations; and ſo far it is no Myſtery. But then we may be told, that the Beings, to which we have annexed thoſe Ideas, and by which we diſtinguiſh them from other Beings, may, and undoubtedly have many other Qualities, or Properties, that we know nothing of; which muſt be granted to be true of every Thing in Nature; and in this Senſe every Thing is a Myſtery, and every Man will readily believe ſuch a Myſtery. But then if we are told, that we muſt believe in the Properties, or Qualities, of which we know nothing, or have any Idea of; I think the Myſtery will conſiſt in the Nonſenſe of the Propoſition; and 'tis the ſame Thing to tell us, that we muſt believe in *Fee-fa-fum*; for a Man cannot believe without believing ſomething; and he muſt know what that ſomething is, that is, he muſt know what he believes, or elſe his Belief is only an abſtract Word, without any Subject to believe in, or any Thing of.

Thus when we ſay, we believe there are three Perſons in the Trinity, and but one God, we muſt have diſtinct Ideas to the Words, (*viz.*) *Perſon*, *Trinity*, and *God*: For if Men have no Meaning to theſe Words, they mean nothing by the Propoſition; and if they annex different Perceptions to them, then they have a different Creed, tho' they fancy they ſubſcribe the ſame. No one can know whether another is orthodox in his Senſe,

till the Terms are defined, and ſtand for the ſame Ideas in both their Minds. To ſay that they believe in three Perſons, without telling what they mean by the Word *Perſon*, is the ſame as to ſay, that they believe in three Somethings, or in the Word *Three*, which indeed is a very myſterious Belief, and a pretty Center of Unity; for no Man can believe any thing elſe, till he has fix'd a Meaning to the Word *Perſon*; and if another does not agree with him in that Meaning, they will differ in Religion, though they agree in Sounds, and perhaps in falling foul upon every one who deſires them to explain themſelves; which Behaviour, amongſt too many People, is the main Teſt of Orthodoxy.

They muſt agree alſo in what they mean by the Word *God*; I do not mean they muſt define his Eſſence, have any adequate Notion of his Infinity, Eternity, or of the *Senſorium* of his Exiſtence; for of theſe Things we neither know, nor can know any thing: But we muſt know what we mean by the Sound we make uſe of, that is, we muſt have a Perception of thoſe Images annex'd to the Word *God*, in our Minds, and a Perception adequate to it ſelf, tho' in no wiſe adequate and correſpondent to the Subject, which, in different Men, I doubt, are very various; and when they are ſo, they plainly differ in the Object of their Worſhip, and are of a different Religion, tho' they may think themſelves to be of the ſame: This ſhall be the Subject of ſome other Paper hereafter; in which I ſhall ſhew how abſurd, as well as impious it is, for Men to fall together by

by the Ears upon the Account of their Difference in Trifles, when they ſcarce agree in any one Thing in the World, if they explain themſelves, and not even in the Attributes annex'd to the Object of all Worſhip, though they can know nothing of him, but from his Attributes.

I am, &c.

SIR,

GOOD Breeding is the Art of ſhewing Men, by external Signs, the internal Regard we have for them. It ariſes from good Senſe, improv'd by converſing with good Company. A well-bred Fool is impertinent; and an ill-bred wiſe Man, like a good Inſtrument is out of Tune, is awkard, harſh, and diſagreeable. A courteous Blockhead, is, however, a more acceptable Gueſt almoſt every where, than a rude Sage. Men are naturally ſo fond of themſelves, that they will rather miſpend their Time with a complaiſant Ape, than improve it with a ſurly and thwarting Philoſopher. Every Bow, or good Word, whenceſoever it comes, is taken by us as a Sign of our Importance, and a Confeſſion of our Merit; and the neglect of that Complaiſance, as a Token that we are thought of none; a Reproach, which, however ſilent, few care to bear.

Good

Good Breeding is never to be learn'd by Study; and therefore they who ſtudy it are Coxcombs and Formaliſts, and ſtiff Pedants. The beſt bred Men, as they come to be ſo by Uſe and Obſervation only, practiſe it without Affectation. You ſee Good Breeding in all they do, without ſeeing the Art of it. It is a Habit, and like all others, acquir'd by Practice. A weak and ignorant Man, who has liv'd in good Company, ſhall enter a Room with a better Grace, and ſay, common Things much more agreeably than a profound wiſe Man, who lives by himſelf, or with only ſuch as himſelf, and is above the Forms of the World, and too important to talk of indifferent Things, and to be like other People. A Footman imploy'd in *How D'ye's*, ſhall addreſs himſelf to a Perſon of Figure with more *Decorum*, and make a Speech with more Eaſe, than a learned Serjeant, who lives wholly over Briefs; or the deep Head of a College, occupied only in momentous Science. I have known a Man, who, with the Learning of a whole Univerſity, had the Manners of a Clown, and the Surlineſs of a Porter; not from the Want of Senſe, tho' that Want is very conſiſtent with a World of Learning, but from living long in a College, and dictating to Boys and Pupils, or with old Fellows, who had no more Breeding than himſelf, and, like himſelf, were ſpoil'd by living rarely upon the Square with any other Sort of People.

Good Breeding therefore is never to be learn'd in a College, where the Sphere of Converſation is ſo narrow, where the Diſtance between

tween Men is so great, and where the Old have none to teach the Young. Hence you generally see young Men come from the Universities with a conceited Air, and a quaint Manner, which often turns them into Fops: They are generally either pert or prim: The Tone of their Voice, and the Position of their Muscles, shew their Accomplishments before they have spoke two Words: Their Step, and the Manner of using their Legs and Arms, do the same; and every Joint about them, and every Action they do, declare the Place and Way of their Education. As to the Senior Fellows, and Heads of Houses, they are such starch'd Pedants, such solemn Mamouches, and such Kingly old Fops, that from their Mein you may know their Characters, and read their Titles and Preferments in their Hats. They carry the College about them wherever they go, and talk at a Table as they do at a Lecture; or, if sometimes they break into Gaiety, it is either imperious or insipid, disrespectful or awkard, and always ungrateful: They want a good Manner, less Conceit, and the Appearance, at least, of more Humility; all which are only to be acquir'd by living abroad in the World, and by conversing with all Sorts of Men. This accustoms one to treat all Men as they expect to be treated; and such general good Treatment given to all, is call'd Good Breeding.

Hence the Breeding of Courts is always the easiest and most refin'd. Courtiers have the constant Advantage of living daily with the best bred Men: Besides, having Occasion for

for all Sorts of People, they accuſtom themſelves to uſe all Sorts of People civilly. By converſing with all Sorts, they can fall readily into all Sorts of Styles, and pleaſe every Body by talking to him in his own Way. They find too, by daily Experience and promiſcuous Converſation, that the Difference between Men and Men is not ſo great, as an Unacquaintedneſs with Men would generally make it: They are therefore under no Awe, nor Shyneſs, in ſpeaking to the Greateſt; nor have any general Contempt for the Meaneſt; a Contempt, which too often riſes from a wrong Judgment, grounded upon Pride, and continu'd by Inexperience. They conſider, that as the Greateſt can do them good, ſo the Meaneſt can hurt them. They are therefore reſpectful without Awe to thoſe above them, and complaiſant without Diſdain to thoſe below them. Courts therefore are the beſt Schools for Good Breeding; and to be well-bred, we muſt live not only with the beſt Sorts of Men, but be acquainted with all Sorts.

The Want of this general Converſation, may be one Reaſon why the Country Clergy are ſo often accus'd of Want of Breeding. They come from the Univerſity full of an Opinion, that all that is to be learned, is to be learn'd there; and believing themſelves to have already every Accompliſhment, they often remain without any. In their Pariſhes, they can learn nothing but an additional Pride, from ſeeing or fancying themſelves the biggeſt Men there. If there is a Squire in the Place, he rarely

rarely mends them. If he has a delicate Taſte, he will not converſe with them: But it frequently happens, that his Taſte is as crude as theirs, and conſiſts in eating much, drinking more, and talking loud. From this conceited Education, and narrow Converſation, ariſes their Impatience of Contradiction, and their Readineſs to contradict. I own I am always cautious of reaſoning with the Vicar. His firſt Argument is generally an Aſſertion, and his next an Affront.

An engaging Manner and a genteel Addreſs may be out of their Power; but it is in their Power to be condeſcending and affable. When People are obliging, they are ſaid to be well-bred. The Heart and Intention are chiefly conſider'd: When theſe are found friendly and ſincere, the Manner of ſhewing it, however awkard, will be kindly overlook'd. Good Breeding is artificial Good Nature; and Complaiſance is underſtood to be a Copy of the inviſible Heart. When People are ſatisfied with one another's Good-will and Sincerity, the Forms that ſhew them are generally laid aſide. Between intimate Friends there is little Ceremony, and leſs between Man and Wife. Some, however, is ſtill neceſſary, becauſe by Signs and Actions the Affections are ſhewn. But a courteous Behaviour which is known to mean nothing, goes for nothing, and is not neceſſary when the Meaning is known to be good. Expreſſions of Kindneſs, when they are not thought the Marks and Effects of Kindneſs, are empty Sounds: And yet theſe unmeaning Expreſſions are neceſſary in Life. We are not to declare to every Man whom we diſlike,

diſlike, how much we diſlike him, nor to ſhew it by dumb Signs. When a Man ſays, That he is my humble Servant, he obliges me; not by the Words, which in common Speech ſignify ſcarce any thing, but becauſe by theſe Words he ſhews, that he thinks me worth Notice. Breeding therefore is then juſt, when the Actions which it produces are thought ſincere: This is its End and Succeſs: It muſt ſeem produc'd by Kindneſs for the Perſon for whom it is ſhewn.

Good Breeding is of ſo great Importance in the World, that an Accompliſhment this Way goes often further, than much greater Accompliſhments without it can go. I have known Gentlemen who with moderate Parts and much good Breeding have been thought Great Men, and have actually come to be ſo. Great Abilities alone make no Man's Perſon amiable; and ſome have been unpopular with the Greateſt, and ſome even ridiculous. But the gay, the eaſy, the complaiſant Man, whoſe chief Abilities are in his Behaviour, pleaſes and obliges all, and is amiable to as many as he obliges. To learn this Behaviour, People muſt begin early. One who ſets out into the World at Twenty, ſhall make twice as much Progreſs in Life, as one who with twice his Senſe ſets out at Forty, becauſe he is then leſs ſuſceptible of the Arts of Life. Habits are not to be got in a Day, and after a certain Age never. Forc'd Complaiſance is Foppery, and affected Eaſineſs is a Monſter. I have ſeen a World of Tradeſmen, and almoſt as many Gentlemen, take ſuch Pains to be well-bred, that I have been in Pain for them: Native Plainneſs is a thouſand Times better.

Com-

Complaiſance is ingenious Flattery: It makes thoſe to whom it is paid flatter themſelves, while they take every Act of Complaiſance in others, as a Declaration of Merit in themſelves: And beyond a certain Degree, it is not innocent. Courtiers know its Efficacy ſo well, that to it alone no ſmall Part of their Power is owing. Hence ſo many People have always been deceiv'd by civil Words, and kind Looks. To know ſpeculatively the Deluſions of this Art, is not ſufficient to put you upon your Guard againſt it. A fair and plauſible Behaviour, with a ready Rote of kind Expreſſions, and all the Appearances of Sincerity, will be apt to miſlead you in Spight of your Fore-knowledge. They will catch your Senſes, and beat you off your Theory in Politicks. You muſt find their Inſincerity ſome Time before you will come to diſtruſt it. Their Art and your own Self-love will conſpire againſt you, drive away your Incredulity, and beget Faith, as it is often begot, againſt Evidence and Reaſon. You will ſtill flatter your ſelf, that you are an Exception to the Rule, tho' there were never another Exception. The Credulity of ſome is perfectly incurable; many have continued ſteady Believers in Spight of daily Proofs and fatal Experience, for twenty Years together. They were always perſuaded, that every Promiſe was at leaſt intended to be kept, and always forgave the breaking it. The Great Man ſmil'd graciouſly, bow'd courteouſly, excus'd himſelf earneſtly; and vow'd to God, you ſhould have the next thing. You miſcar-

ry'd;

ry'd; and then, with a concern'd Face, he vow'd to God he could not help it, but promis'd again with the same solemn Vow, and is again believ'd, and always believ'd. This wretched Credulity is the Fruit of Self-love, of an Opinion that we are as considerable in the Eyes of others, as we are in our own. Mankind are govern'd by their Weaknesses; and all that Statesmen have to do to keep expecting Crowds about them, and attach'd to them, is to promise violently, to seem violently in earnest, and never to be so: That is, they must be extremely well-bred.

Good Breeding is indeed an amiable and persuasive Thing: It beautifies the Actions, and even the Looks of Men. But equally odious is the Grimace of Good Breeding. In Comparison with this, Bluntness is an Accomplishment. The Ape of a well-bred Man is just as offensive as the well-bred Man is agreeable: He is a Nuisance to his Acquaintance. I am frighted at the affected Smile and the Apish Shrug. When these foul Copies of Courtiers throw their civil Grin in one's Face, it is as much as one can do to avoid spitting in theirs. A starch'd Rogue, forcing Smiles, is a more hideous Sight than a Mummy. He is a Fugitive from Nature; and it is notable Impudence in such a Creature to pretend to be courteous.

As to Ill-Breeding, or Rudeness, there is something still worse in it than its Deformity. It is immoral; it is using others as you would not be used.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE Word *Reverence* has had the Fate of many, indeed, almoſt all good Words, and done much Miſchief: It ſignifies a ſolemn Regard paid to the Perſons of Men of Gravity, of Religion, and of Authority. By theſe Qualifications Men are entitled to it. But when the Pride and Craft of Men, who have no real Gravity, and no real Religion, or a fooliſh one, and only a pretended or an abſurd Authority, would annex Reverence only to grave or groteſque Names, it becomes as ridiculous to Men of good Senſe, as it ſeems awful to ſuch as have none. Reverence belongs only to reverend Qualities and reverend Actions. As to Names and Habits, the more grave they are, the more ludicrous they become, when worn by Perſons who live looſely, and act ludicrouſly.

Garments ſignify nothing themſelves. They grow firſt ſolemn, by being firſt worn by Men of Character and Solemnity: But the moſt ſolemn Garment becomes contemptible and diverting upon the Back of a Drole, a Buffoon, or upon a Cheat or Mountebank of any kind. The graveſt Man alive dreſs'd up in the Cap and Coat of a Harliquin, would look like a Harliquin; and the graveſt Speech he could make, would be laugh'd at: And yet a

Coat

Coat of many Colours was a Coat of Value in the *East*, in *Jacob's* Time, and his Favourite Son *Joseph* wore one. Nor do our own Ladies lose any Respect by wearing all the Colours of the Peacock and the Rainbow. On the contrary, the gravest Clothes put upon burlesque Animals, will look Burlesque. A monkey in a deep Coat, and a broad Beaver, would be still more a Monkey, and his Grimace would be still more diverting Grimace; and a Hog in a Pair of Jack-Boots, and a Coat of Mail, would make no formidable Figure, notwithstanding his warlike Equipment.

These two last Instances of the Monkey and the Hog may be farther improv'd, to shew the Spirit of false Reverence. A Monkey in a red Coat, and a Hog in Armour, would give no Offence to a Soldier, because his Character consists in Actions which these Creatures cannot perform nor mimick; and consequently these Animals, tho' accouter'd like a Soldier, cannot ridicule a Soldier. But if you put a Popish Mitre, and the rest of that sort of Gear, upon a Hog, the useless and stupid Solemnity of the Animal gives you instantly the Idea of a Popish Bishop, and, if you are not a Papist, will divert you: Or, if you dress up a Baboon in the fantastical Habit of a Romish Priest, that Animal which can chatter much and unintelligibly, and can really do most of the Tricks which the Priest himself can do, does genuinely represent the Original; and therefore creates true Mirth, and fully shews, that there cannot be much Reverence in that which a Baboon can perform as well, for ought I know

know better, as he is naturally a Creature of Grimace and Humour. And if the ſaid Biſhop and Prieſt could not with any Temper bear the Sight, their Rage and Impatience would be ſtill farther Proofs, that the Monkey did them Juſtice, that the Tryal was Succeſsful, and the Mirth occaſion'd by it juſt. Such Sport would indeed be tragical in Popiſh Countries; which is but another Confirmation, that Falſe Reverence cannot bear Ridicule, and that the true is not affected by it.

Many of the ancient *Greek* Philoſophers took great Pride, and found mighty Reverence, in the Length and Gravity of their Beards. Now an old Goat, who had as much Gravity and Beard as any of them, had he been placed in one of their Chairs, would, doubtleſs, have provok'd the Philoſopher, and diverted the Aſſembly. Pomp and Beard were therefore ridiculous, ſince they could be ridicul'd: But nothing that conſtitutes a Philoſopher, neither Genius, nor Virtue, nor uſeful Learning, nor any thing that is good for ſomething, can be ridicul'd, at leaſt juſtly ridicul'd. The odd Dance of Judges and Biſhops in the *Rehearſal*, does neither ridicule Biſhops nor Judges, becauſe they never practiſe ſuch odd Dances: But if theſe grave Men met and gambol'd together, as they do there, the Ridicule would be ſtrong upon them.

It is a Jeſt to expect from all Men great Reverence to that which every Man may do, whether it conſiſts in Reading, or Repeating, or Wearing, or Acting. Where is the Difficulty or Merit of ſaying certain Words, or of making

making Bows, or of ſpreading the Arms, or croſſing them, or of wearing a long Coat, or a ſhort Cravat? It is Impudence and Impoſture to demand ſingular and vaſt Reſpect to ſmall and common Things. Superior Virtue and Capacity, publick Actions and Services done to Mankind; a generous and benevolent Heart, and Greatneſs of Mind, are the true Objects and Sources of Reverence. But to claim Reverence to Prating, and to Cuts, and Colours, and Poſtures, is ſtupid, ridiculous and ſaucy. The *Abc* of a Tinker, is as good as a Pope's *Abc*; and it is open Cheating and Conjuring to pretend, that the ſame Words have not the ſame Force out of the Mouth of a Cobler as out of a Cardinal's Mouth. When any one of theſe mighty Claimers (I had almoſt ſaid Clamorers) of Reverence, from their viſionary Empire of Words and Tricks, can by the Magick of their Art remove a Mountain or a Mole-hill, or raiſe a Houſe, or a dead Inſect, or kill a Heretick, or a Graſhopper by a Charm, I am ready to bow down before them: But while I ſee any of them living like other Men, or worſe, and doing nothing but what ſo many Chimney-Sweepers (who can read) may do as well; I can conſider ſuch who do ſo only as ſolemn Lyers, and Seducers, and as much worſe than Fortune-Tellers, as they cheat People out of much more Money, and fill their Minds with worſe Terrors.

The *Roman Augurs* made no ſuch baſe Uſe of their Power, and of their ghoſtly Trade, which was inſtituted, at leaſt practis'd, for the Ends of good Policy; and, as far as I can find, they

they had no Revenues: I would therefore have reſpected them as they were great Officers of the *Roman* State. But had an *Augur*, as an *Angur*, demanded Reverence of me for his long Staff, his Trick, and Divinations, I ſhould have done what *Cato* the elder wonder'd they themſelves did not do as often as they met, laugh'd in his Face, as I would in the Face of any Man who pretended to be my Superior and Director, becauſe his Coat was longer than mine, or of a different Colour; or becauſe he utter'd Words which I could utter as well, or play Pranks which a Poſture-Maſter could play better.

I will reverence a Man for the Good he does, or is inclin'd to do; and for no other Reaſon ought I. But if under the Pretence of doing me Good, which I neither ſee nor feel, he picks my Pocket, and does me ſenſible Harm, or would do it; how can I help hating and deſpiſing him? If he turns Religion into Selfiſhneſs, and a plain Trade, or by it deſtroys Morality; if he ſets himſelf up in God's Stead, and by pretending boldly to his Power, abuſes his holy Name, and oppreſſes his Creatures; if he exclaims againſt Covetouſneſs, and is governed by it; and practiſes every Vice which he condemns; if he preaches againſt the World, and yet has never enough of it; and againſt the Fleſh, and yet is viſibly govern'd by all its worſt Paſſions and Appetites; if he takes immenſe Wages for promoting the Welfare of Society, and yet diſturbs, impoveriſhes, and enſlaves it; how can I reverence him, if I would?

would? And is he not loſt to all Modeſty if he deſires it?

If Men would preſerve themſelves from Superſtition, and Servitude, and Folly, they muſt beware of reverencing Names and Accidents. A wiſe Man does not reverence Rulers for their Inſignia and great Titles; but as there is no Uſe of Rulers, but to do Service to Mankind, he reverences them for that Service done: If they do none, he deſpiſes them: If they do Miſchief, he hates them. What are Men reverenced for, but for the good Talents which they poſſeſs, or for uſeful Offices they bear. Now if a Man has never a good Quality, or having ſuch, abuſes them; or if he does no Good with the Office he bears, but Harm, which he muſt do, if he does no Good, every Omiſſion by which many are hurt, being a Crime againſt many; how am I to reverence him, for taking away by his Conduct the only Cauſe of Reverence? If he gives me Cauſe to hate him, am I for all that to love him? Either there is no ſuch Paſſion as Hatred, which none but a Madmen will ſay, or it muſt be rais'd by the Cauſes that raiſe it; and what are thoſe Cauſes, but Miſchief done, when Good is due, and expected; or the Diſappointment of a great Good; which is a great Miſchief.

But when People are taught to reverence Butchers, Robbers, and Tyrants, under the reverenced Name of Rulers, and to adore the Names and Perſons of Men, tho' their Actions be the Actions of Devils: Then here is a confirm'd and accompliſh'd Servitude, the

Servitude

Servitude of the Body, secur'd by the Servitude of the Mind, and Oppression fortified by Delusion. This is the Height of human Slavery. By this, the *Turk* and the Pope reign. They hold their horrid and sanguinary Authority by false Reverence, as much as by the Sword. The *Sultan* is of the Family of *Ottoman*, and the Pope St. *Peter*'s Successor; they are therefore reverenced, while they destroy human Race. The Christians hate the *Turk*, and call him a Tyrant: And Protestants dread the Pope, and call him an Impostor. And yet I could name Christians who have Tyrants of their own, as bad as the *Sultan*; and I could name Protestants who have had Impostors of their own, as cruel as the Pope, had their Power been as great, and their Hands as loose. Men see the Follies and Slavery of others; but their own Nonsense is all sacred, their own Popes and *Sultans* are all of heavenly Descent, and their Authority just and inviolable. But Truth and Falshood, Wisdom and Folly, do not vary with the Conceptions and Prepossessions of Men. Happiness and Misery, Oppression and Imposture, are as bad in Christendom as in *Turky*, in *Holland* as in *Rome*. Protestant Rulers have no more Right than the *Sultan* to oppress Protestants; and the Pope has as good a Title as a Protestant Parson to deceive Protestants. God forbid that all Religions should be alike; but all who make the same ill Use of every Religion, are certainly alike; as are all Governors, *Turkish*, Popish, or Protestant, who make the same ill Use of Power.

If therefore all Governors whatsoever, of what Conduct soever, are to be reverenced; why not the *Turk* and old *Muly*, who are both great Governors, and have as much a Divine Authority to be Tyrants, as any Governor of any Name or Religion ever had? And if all Clergy whatsoever are to be reverenced, why not the *Druids*, and the Priests of *Baal*, and the Priests of *Meccha* and of *Rome*? But if only the Good of both Sorts are to be reverenc'd, why have we been told so much of the mighty Respect due in the Lump, to Priests and Rulers? Is there any other Way in common Sense to gain Respect, but to deserve it? Could the *Romans* reverence their Governor *Nero* for robbing them of their Lives and Estates, for burning their City, and for wantonly making himself Sport with human Miseries? Could the first Christians reverence him for dressing them up in the Skins of wild Beasts, and setting on wild Beasts to devour them; or for larding them all over with Pitch and Tallow, and lighting them up like Lamps to illuminate the City? If we reverence Men for their Power alone, why do we not reverence the Devil, who has so much more Power than Men? But if Reverence is due only to virtuous Qualities and useful Actions, it is as ridiculous and superstitious to adore great mischevious Men, or unholy Men with holy Names, as it is to worship a false God, or Satan in the Stead of God. Are we to be told, that tho' we are to worship no God but the good and true God, yet we are to pay Reverence, which is human Worship, to wicked Men, provide they

they be great Men, and to honour the false Servants of the true God, whom they dishonour? Or, that any Sort of Men can be his Servants or Deputies in any Sense, but a good and sanctified Sense? And if they are not, are we for the Sake of God, to reverence those who belye him, and are our Enemies? Or, am I to reverence the Men, tho' I detest their Actions and Qualities, which constitute the Characters of Men? Can I love or hate Men, but for what they are, and for what they do? We ought to reverence that which is good, and the Men that are good: Are we therefore to reverence Wickedness and Folly, and those who commit them? Or, because they have good Names and Offices, which are to be honour'd, are they to be honour'd for abusing those good Things, and for turning Good into Evil?

We must deserve Reverence before we claim it. If a Man occupies an honourable Office, civil or sacred, and acts ridiculously or knavishly in it, do I dishonour that Office by contemning or exposing the Man who dishonours it? Or ought I not to scorn him, as much as I reverence his Office, which he does all he can to bring into Scorn? I have all possible Esteem for Quality; but if a Man of Quality acts like an Ape, or a Clown, or a Pick-pocket, or a Profligate, I shall heartily hate or dispise his Lordship, notwithstanding my great Reverence for Lords. I honour Episcopacy; but if a Bishop is an Hypocrite, a Time-server, a Traytor, a Stock-Jobber, or an Hunter after Power, I shall take leave to scorn the Pre-

late, for all my Regard for Prelacy. It is not a Name, however awful, nor an Office, however important, that ought to bring, or can bring, Reverence to the Man who poſſeſſes them, if he acts below them, or unworthily of them. Folly and Villany ought to have no Aſylum; nor can Titles ſanctify Crimes, however, they may ſometimes protect Criminals. A Right Honourable or a Right Reverend Rogue, is the moſt dangerous Rogue, and conſequently the moſt deteſtable.

Omne animi vitium tantò conſpectius in ſe
Crimen habet, quantò major qui peccat habetur.
Juvenal.

I am, &c.

SIR,

WE have had a World of Talk both in our Pulpits and our Addreſſes, about Hereditary Right, and I think no one has yet fully explained what it means; and therefore I will try whether I can unfold or cut aſunder the Gordian Knot. It is a divine, unalterable, indefeaſible Right to Sovereignty, dictated or modified by the poſitive Laws, and human Conſtitutions of national Governments. In *France*, *Turky*, and the large Eaſtern Monarchies, it deſcends wholly upon the Males.

In

In the Kingdom, or rather Queendom of *Achem*, it falls only upon Females. In *Russia* formerly it descended upon all the Males jointly, and it would not operate upon the Females at all. In *Poland* the Nobility have an human Right to confer Part of this Divine Right, but not all of it, upon whom they please; and in *Old Rome* the Soldiery often made bold to confer it: But in *England* and other Countries, all of it falls upon the Male who chances to be born first; and so on to the next, according to Priority of Birth; and for want of Males to the eldest Female, contrary to other Inheritances, which descend upon Females equally. However, though this same Right is absolute and unalterable, yet it is often limited and circumscribed by human Laws, which ought not to be transgressed, yet may be transgressed with Impunity, unless it interferes with another Divine Right, which is the Divine Right of the High Clergy. In all other Cases, it is boundless and uncondition'd, though given and accepted upon Conditions.

There is one Circumstance particularly remarkable in the Exercise of this Divine Right; which is, that it may make as bold as it thinks fit with other Divine Right (except as before excepted,) of which we have a late and very pregnant Instance, approved by very good Churchmen, and all our able Divines, who thank'd God publickly for thus exercising it, that is, when the Queen made that honourable Peace which executed it self. Then the unalterable Divine Right of the Dauphin to the Kingdom of *Spain* was given to his youn-

ger Son, and the undefeasible Divine Right of the present King of *Spain*, to the Monarchy of *France*, was assigned over to a younger Branch of the House of *Bourbon*; and sometime before the Divine Right of the last Emperor to the *Spanish* Dominions, was given to the present Emperor; and it seems that this alienable, unalienable, indivisible Right, is divisible too. The Divine Right to *Sardinia* is given to the Duke of *Savoy*; and of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Flanders*, to the Emperor; and of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to us, as long as we can keep it; which I hope we are now in a fair Way to do; and all the rest of this Divine Right, besides what is thus dispos'd of, remains where it was before, and where it should be.

But there are certain human Ingredients, Experiments, and Operations, which are necessary to attain to this Divine Right. In most Countries, and particularly in our own, the Priests must have a Finger in the Pye; and it will not come down from above, and settle here below, unless they say certain Words over the married Couple, which they alone have the Right to say; but in *Turky*, *India*, and other Mahometan and Pagan Countries, *(beu Pudor,)* this same Divine Right is to be got without the Benefit of their Clergy, and it will make its Conveyance through the Channel of a Strumpet; yet in most Nations all is not well, unless the Clergy say Grace over it; but then it is of no Consquence who gets the Divine Babe, so he is born in Wedlock; and in a late Instance it appear'd no ways necessary

ceſſary whether he was born in Wedlock, or not, or of whom he was born, ſo he was but born at all. Now, Sir, you muſt know, that this is a Myſtery, and like ſome other Myſteries, wholly inexplicable, yet may be explained by the *Jacobite* Clergy; but then you are not to underſtand the Explication, but are to take their Words for it; and we all know that they are Men of Probity, and will not deceive you. From this Divine Right all other Rights are deriv'd, except their own, which comes down from above too; and if the Poſſeſſors of theſe two Divine Rights can agree together, all is as it ſhould be; otherwiſe, you are to take Notice, that God is to be obeyed before Man, and the Regale is to bow down, like the Sheaves in *Joſeph*'s Dream, before the Pontificate.

But this is not all: There are ſome Circumſtances very particular and chicane in this Divine Right; though, as has been ſaid, it may be conveyed away, yet nothing paſſes by the Conveyance in many Caſes: Part of it may be granted and conceded to its Subjects, and yet they have no Right to keep what is ſo given, always excepting the High-Clergy, who may take it without being given: I had almoſt forgot another Conveyance of this Right, which is Conqueſt, or, in other Words, the Divine Right of Plunder, Rapine, Maſſacre: But the Right is never the worſe for the Wickedneſs of Men; for howſoever they get Poſſeſſion of Sovereign Power, *eo inſtante*, the Right is annexed to the Poſſeſſion, unleſs in ſpecial Caſes, ſtill preſerving a Right to the

Jacobite Clergy, to give a Right to whomſoever they elſe pleaſe. This ſame Right is of ſo odd and bizarre a Nature, that it receives no Addition or Diminution from the Conſent of Men, or the Want of that Conſent. It is lawful to ſwear to it, when there is an Intereſt in doing ſo; and yet it is no ways neceſſary to believe what you ſwear, or keep your Oath. It is not to be reſiſted; and yet in particular Caſes it may be oppoſed. It is limited, and yet unlimitable. You may make Laws to bind it, and yet it is Treaſon and Damnation to defend thoſe Laws, unleſs you have the *Verbum Sacerdotis* on your Side.

What Contradictions, Abſurdities, and Wickedneſs, are Men capable of! We have a Set of abandoned Wretches amongſt our ſelves, who ſeem to have a Deſign to deſtroy human Race, as they would human Reaſon! Every Doctrine, every Opinion they advance, is levell'd againſt the Happineſs of all Mankind. Nothing conduces to Virtue, to true Religion, to the preſent or future Intereſts of Men, but is repreſented as deſtructive to Piety. We are to be the Vaſſals of Tyrants, the Dupes of Impoſtors, the Zanies of Mountebanks, or elſe are in a State of Damnation. Men, for whoſe Sakes Government was inſtituted, have no Right to be protected by Government. Religion which was given by Almighty God to make Men virtuous here, and happy hereafter; has been made uſe of to deſtroy their Happineſs both here, and hereafter. Scarce any thing is diſcover'd to be true in Nature and Philoſophy, but is proved to be falſe in Ortho-

Orthodoxy: What is found to be beneficial to Mankind in their present State is represented hurtful to their future; nay, some are risen up amongst us, who are such implacable Enemies to their whole Species, that they make it Sin to take proper Precautions against the Danger of the Small-Pox, even when they are advised by the most able Physicians, and when these Physicians are most disinterested.

What can be more cruel, wicked and detrimental to human Society, or greater Blasphemy against the good God; than to make Government, which was design'd by him to render Men numerous, industrious, useful to one another, to improve Arts, Sciences, Learning, Virtue, Magnanimity and true Religion, an unnatural Engine to destroy the greatest Part of the World; to make the rest poor, ignorant, superstitious and wicked; to subject them like Cattle, to be the Property of their Oppressors; to be the tame Slaves of haughty and domineering Masters, and the low Homagers of gloomy Pedants; to work for, to fight for, and to adore those who are neither better nor wiser than themselves; and to be wretched by Millions, to make one or a few proud and insolent? And yet we are told this is the Condition God has placed us in, and that it is Damnation to strive to make it better.

All these Mischiefs, and many more, are the inseparable Consequences of an indefeasible Hereditary Right, in any Man or Family whatsoever, which can never be alienated or

forfeited: For if this be true, then the Property of all Mankind may be taken away, their Religion overturn'd, and their Persons butcher'd by Thousands, and no Remedy be attempted: They must not mutter and complain; for Complaints are Sedition, and tend to Rebellion: They must not stand upon their Defence, for that is resisting the Lord's Anointed: They must not revile the Ministers and Instruments of his Power; for Woe be to the Man who speaketh ill of him whom the King honoureth. And all this has been told us by those who have never shewn any Regard to Authority, either human or divine, when it interfer'd with their own Interests. What shall I say; what Words use to express this monstrous Wickedness, this utter Absence of all Virtue, Religion, or Tenderness to the human Species: What Colours can paint it, what Pen describe it!

Certainly, if Government was design'd by God for the Good, Happiness, and Protection of Men, Men have a Right to be protected by Government; and every Man must have a Right to defend what no Man has a Right to take away. There is not now a Government subsisting in the World, but took its Rise from the Institution of Men; and we know from History when, and how, it was instituted: It was either owing to the express or tacit Consent of the People, or the Soldiers, who first erected it; and it could have no more Power than what they gave it; and what Persons soever were invested with that Power, must have accepted it upon the Conditions

ditions upon which it was given; and when they renounced those Conditions, they renounced their Government. In some Countries it was Hereditary; in others elective; in some discretionary; in others limited: But in all, the Governors must have deriv'd their Authority from the Consent of Men, and could exercise it no farther than that Consent gave them Leave. Where positive Conditions were annexed to their Power, they were certainly bound by those Conditions; and one Condition must be annexed to all Governments, even the most absolute, That they act for the Good of the People; for whose Sake alone there is any Government in the World. In this Regard there can be no Difference between hereditary and elective Monarchies; for the Heir cannot inherit more than his Ancestor enjoy'd, or had a Right to enjoy, any more than a Successor can succeed to it.

Then the wise Question will arise, What if any Man, who has no natural Right, nor any Right over his Fellow Creatures, accepts great Powers, immense Honours and Revenues, and other personal Advantages to himself and his Posterity, upon Conditions either express, as in all limited Constitutions, or implied as in all Constitutions whatsoever, and either by deliberate Declarations, or deliberate Actions, publickly proclaims, that he will no longer be bound by those Conditions, that he will no more abide by his legal Title, but will assume another that was never given him, and to which he can have no Right at all; that he will govern his People by despotick Authority;

thority; that instead of protecting them, he will destroy them; that he will overturn their Religion to introduce one of his own; and that instead of being a Terror to evil Works, he will be a Terror to good: I ask, in such a Case, Whether his Subjects will be bound by the Conditions he has renounc'd? Do the Obligations subsist on their Part, when he has destroy'd them on his? And are they not at Liberty to save themselves, and to look out for Protection elsewhere, when it is denied where they have a Right to expect and demand it, and to get it as they can, though at the Expence of him and his Family, when no other Method or Recourse is left.

And now, O ye gloomy Impostors! O ye mercileſs Advocates for Superstition and Tyranny! Produce all your Texts, all your knotty Distinctions! Here exert all your quaint Eloquence, your *Quiddities*, your *Aliquo modo fit*, and *Aliquo modo non*; appear in solemn Dump, with your reverential Robes, and your horizontal Hats, with whole Legions of Phantoms and Chimera's, and Cart-loads of Theology broken Oaths, and seditious Harangues, and try whether you can maintain the Battle, and defend the Field against one single Adversary, who undertakes to put all your numerous and fairy Battalions to the Flight.

Let us hear what you can say for your abdicated Idol. Distinguish, if you can, his Case from that which I have represented: Shew that Almighty God gave to him a Divine Right to play the Devil; or, if he had no such Right, that his Subjects had none to hinder

hinder him: Prove that Kings are not instituted for the Good of the People, but for their own and the Clergy's Pride and Luxury: But if they are instituted for the Good of the People, then shew that they are left at Liberty to act for their Destruction, and that their Subjects must submit to inevitable Ruin, and yet kiss the Iron Rod whenever his Majesty pleases: Shew that it was possible for the Kingdom to trust themselves again to the Faith and Oaths of a Popish Prince, who, during his whole Reign, did nothing else but break his Faith and his Oaths, and whose Religion oblig'd him to do so; or that it was possible for them to place his Son upon the Throne he had abdicated, (if they had believ'd him to be his Son,) when he was in the Possession of the most implacable Enemy of their Country, or of *Europe*, or of the Protestant Religion; and that it would not have been direct Madness to have sent for him afterwards from *France*, or *Rome*, inrag'd by his Expulsion, and educated, animated, and arm'd with *French* and Popish Principles: And shew too, that the poor oppressed People had any Recourse, but to throw themselves under the Protection of their great Deliverer, who was the next Heir to their Crown.

If you can't do this, there is nothing left for you to do, but to shew, That the late King *James* did not violate and break the fundamental Laws and Statutes of this Realm, which were the original Contract between him and his People; and that he did not make their Allegiance to him incompatible with their own

own Safety, for the Preſervation of which he was entitled to their Allegiance: Shew that he did not claim and exerciſe a Power to diſpenſe with their Laws; that he did not levy the Cuſtoms without the Authority of Parliament; or that he called Parliaments according to the Conſtitution he had ſworn to; and that when he intended to call one, he did not reſolve to pack it, and cloſeted many of the Gentlemen in *England*, and with Promiſes and Menaces endeavour'd to make them practicable to his Deſigns: Shew that he did not diſarm Proteſtants, and arm Papiſts; ſet up exorbitant and unlawful Courts; cauſe exceſſive Bail to be requir'd, and exceſſive Fines to be impos'd, and exceſſive Puniſhments to be inflicted; that he did not proſecute Members in the *King's-Bench* for what they did in Parliament; and diſcharge others committed by Parliament; that he did not grant Fines and Forfeitures of Perſons to be try'd, before there Conviction; that he did not erect an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion directly againſt an Act of Parliament, and ſuſpended, by Virtue of it, Clergymen, for not reading in their Churches a Proclamation, which he iſſued by his own Authority, to give Liberty of Conſcience to Papiſts and Proteſtant Diſſenters: Shew that he did not impriſon and try ſeven Biſhops for their humble Petition againſt it, which Petition they were impower'd by Law to make; that he did not combine with *France* and *Rome* to overthrow the eſtabliſh'd Church, which he was bound to defend, and to introduce another in the Room of it, which was worſe

than

than none; and, in order to it, brought profeſs'd Papiſts into Offices, both Civil and Military, ſend and receive Ambaſſadors to and from *Rome*, who were guilty of High Treaſon by the Laws of the Land, and bring from thence Swarms of Locuſts, to devour and pollute every Thing that it produc'd; turn out the Maſters and Fellows of *Magdalen-College*, againſt Law, for not doing what they were ſworn not to do, and ſubſtitute in their room, thoſe who were not qualified by Law to be there: And to make good all theſe Breaches upon our Liberties, that he did not raiſe a Popiſh Army in *Ireland*, and another in *England*, which had many Papiſts in it, without Authority of Parliament.

Shew, if you can, that he ever diſcovered the leaſt Inclination to reform theſe Abuſes; but on the contrary, when he could continue them no longer, that he did not deſert his People; that he dared to truſt himſelf to a free Parliament, after he had called it, but diſſolved it again, and fooliſhly threw his great Seal into the *Thames*, that no other might be called; and that when he reſolved to leave his People, that he would ſuffer his Pretended Son to remain amongſt us. Shew that you your ſelves did not help to expel him; that you have not taken Oaths, repeated Oaths to this Government, and Abjurations of any other; and that you have kept to either one or the other. When you have done this, I will allow you to be what no one at preſent thinks you to be, honeſt Men, good *Engliſhmen*, and true Proteſtants.

I am, &c.

HORATIUS *to* CATO.

SIR,

I Have had a long Ambition to say something about you one Way or another; but I doubted whether I had best write to you, or against you. That Doubt is now decided; and, lo! I, who might have been your Adversary, am become your Correspondent and Advocate. I send you your Apology, and shew you the Good you do.

You have, Sir, open'd a new Source of Provision for the Poor, by finding Employment for all the Wits Mendicant about Town: And tho' they ought to reverence your Name, as that of another *Sutton*, by whose Alms they are sustain'd, yet they vilely fly in your Face, and pollute, by their matchless Ingratitude, the very Bread which you generously put into their Mouths; like Maggots, who prey upon the Flesh they are bred in, till they turn Flies, which are Vermin with Wings. Thus Reprobates serve Heaven; they affront and blaspheme it, and receive their Existence from it. You scarce had appear'd in the World, but you recall'd superannuated Authors to Life again; and Toothless, as they were, set them a biting, biting at the Hand that brought them back from Oblivion. Obsolete and despairing

ſparing Authors once more violently graſp'd their Pen: The lean and ill-fed Candidates, for Weekly Work from the Bookſellers, brighten'd up, and began to be cloath'd; and puny Poets, and the humble Compoſers of Ditties, left their Tags and Ballads to live upon *Cato*; even thoſe, who had got ſome Reputation, thought they had now a lucky Opportunity to improve it, by breaking a Lance with a Champion who drew all Eyes upon him, and was yet invincible: And *Cato* became at once the Butt of the Envious, the Mark of the Ambitious, and the Stay and Support of the Needy.

It is the Lot of Grandeur: A great Man muſt have his poor and impertinent Dependents, as well as is uſeful and agreeable: They all ſerve to make up his Train. A Troop of Beggars beſetting his Coach, or following it in the Street, do, notwithſtanding their Rags, and ill-favour'd Looks, and diſmal Style, but add to the Luſtre of his Figure. Jeſters and Buffoons, Cynicks and Declaimers, are likewiſe of the ſame Uſe, to ſwell his Pomp, and divert him, tho' they are often too free with him. Your Retinue, Sir, of this Kind is infinite: From the *Cockpit* to *Moorfields* you maintain a Wag, an Orator, a Critick, a Poet, or a Journaliſt, in every Street, and whole Swarms in the Alleys: Nor would I deſire a ſurer Patent for Fame, than ſuch a Shoal of Calumniators. Their Scolding is Compliment; and while they aim Blows at you, they only cudgel themſelves on your Behalf;

half; *offendent ſolido*; you know the Fable of the Viper biting the File.

Envy always praiſes thoſe it rails at. It is indeed the only Way that foul Mouths can make your Panegyrick, or that of any Man. Were they to extol you in earneſt, it would be downright Scandal and Railing; a foul Conſpiracy againſt your Reputation; like the Fawning of a Whelp, who, to expreſs his Fondneſs, piſſes upon you. If therefore they mean their Scurrilities and ſatirical Nonſenſe in Love, you would have ground for Provocation: But to mean them as they do, the contrary Way, is their only genuine Way of thanking you for their Food. There are many Sorts of Folks whoſe Calumnies I would be proud of, for the ſame Reaſon why I would be aſhamed of their Praiſe. A great Man at *Athens*, was followed from a publick Aſſembly all the Way home, by a very competent Reviler, with a World of Panegyrical ill Names, and acceptable Abuſes. That great Man took all theſe kind Vollies of Defamation, for ſo many Huzza's; and calling to his Servant, *Go*, ſays he, *take a Light, and conduct that worthy Gentleman, who has honour'd me with all thoſe civil Acclamations, home to his Lodging.*

Now if this ill-tongu'd *Athenian* had not been in earneſt, his Courteſy would have been half loſt. I hope your numerous Anſwerers and Revilers mean what they ſay, elſe the Obligation is but ſmall; and the ſmaller, becauſe theſe their Panegyricks upon you, are not at all encourag'd. The Town is ſtill profoundly ignorant what a Swarm of Retailers, what

what loud and vehement Flatterers you have in it. They have filled, and do Weekly fill, mighty Reams of Paper in extolling you, *as great a Secret as the World would make of it*, to use the Words of a witty Author.

Love, they say, is blind; and perhaps from hence may be fetch'd a Proof, that these your pretended Adversaries are your real Friends, since in their Writings against you, that is, for you, (for it is all one) they are guided by no other Rule of Right and Wrong, than, whether *Cato* affirms a Thing or denies it, and are always sure to take the contrary Side: Nay, some of them contradict *Cato*, at the Expence of their constant and favourite Opinions. Does not this look like playing Booty? By their Works, one would think that you had the licensing of your Opponents, and, but for their hideous Bulk, the overlooking of them: At least, by your profound Silence, and great Meekness towards them, you seem well pleased with their Labours. I dare say, you would not change them for any Set of Defamers that could be pick'd up for you.

A Lady of my Acquaintance is fond of Dogs. She has at present two or three little Curs, that are very noisy at every Visitant who is taller than ordinary. The puny Vermin have a Spite at Elevation. They once, particularly, made an incessant and stand'rous Clamour at a Noble Lord, well known for his fine Person and graceful Mein; nor could they be still'd. The Lady was out of Countenance: She told him she would have them knock'd on the Head, or given away: *By no means*,

means, Madam, says his Lordship, sagely enough, *I know you cannot be without Dogs, and perhaps the next may bite me.*

I think I have read you impartially, and cannot say I have found in you any knavish Reasoning, any base or dishoneſt Principles. You need not therefore be concern'd who write againſt you. However, as I would truſt nobody in any Circumſtances, with any Sort of abſolute Power, methinks I ſhould not be diſpleas'd to ſee you check'd and watch'd a little in that great Authority you have acquir'd over the Minds of Men. No Body has ſhewn us better than your ſelf, that all diſcretionary Power is liable to be abus'd, and ought not to be truſted, or cautiouſly truſted, to mortal and frail Men. For this Reaſon, tho' you are Monarch of the Preſs, I would have you a limited Monarch: As ſuch it becomes you to bear with, and receive kindly the Admonitions and Remonſtrances of Men of Honour and Senſe, when ſuch differ with you, and it is agreeable to your Senſe and Character, to laugh at the profane Contumelies of Slaves. Your Calumniators do your Buſineſs. The Viper carries within it a Remedy for its own Poiſon. You are ſecure by the Baſeneſs of their Fears, againſt the Baſeneſs of their Malice; and their Malice is harmleſs by being obvious.

Their is ſomething diverting in the Number and Variety of your Adverſaries, and their different Views. Some are old Stagers; and being us'd to ſpill Ink for Pay in the Quarrel of Parties, made an Offer of themſelves to enter

er the Lists again, and scold for Wages at *Cato*. The Finances were not in *Cato*'s Dispo-al: This was a good and conscientious Rea-on for being against him. But these Volun-iers are not suitably encourag'd. One of hem has in two Years writ near a Dozen Pamphlets against you; but with ill Succes-very Way. The Town will not buy them; he other End of the Town will not reward he Author; nor will you take any Notice of hem. A melancholy Case! That learned *Oxonian* is at present in the Slough of Des-pond.

Others, who had not been us'd to receive Pay, and I doubt never will, thought them-selves qualified to earn it: For, alas! what is so deceiving as Self-love? So upon *Cato* they fell, and by way of Answer crack'd Jests, and call'd him Names. Fraught with this Merit, away they footed it sweating to the Office, where, after many Petitions, and much wait-ing, they were admitted to the Audience of one of the Clerks. They begg'd to be con-sider'd as humble Auxiliaries, and to have an Acknowledgment, the smallest Acknowledg-ment. These Gentlemen had better Luck than the above ancient Author: They were fully rewarded, that is to say, they were civil-ly thank'd by the aforesaid Clerk, and own'd to be well-meaning Persons. And yet they are ungrateful, and make heavy Complaints, as if they had nothing. They still hope for more another Time.

A Bookseller of my Acquaintance tells me, that he has refus'd, within this Year, five and fifty

fifty Pamphlets writ againſt you, and that the Authors, one and all, offer'd to write for him by the Year. They were all of Opinion, that they could carry through a Weekly Paper with as much Reputation and Succeſs as any yet writ againſt you: Which he did not deny; and yet diſmiſs'd them. He told me, it was but this Winter, that a Man in a Livery came to him, and asked him, What he would give for a Sermon to be preach'd by his Maſter, the Doctor, upon a publick Occaſion? He anſwer'd, *Nothing.* *Oh, Sir,* ſays the Valet, *my Maſter's will ſell like Wildfire. You can't think, Sir, how purely he claws off* Cato; *And you'll ſee he'll ſoon be made a*—— You ſee, Sir, that you are a uſeful Man to many, and even conſider'd as a Scale to great Preferment. This Sermon is ſince out, and it has neither hurt you, nor exalted the Preacher, tho' he has there labour'd the Point very hard. The Doctor wanted no good Will, whatever elſe he wants. Unluckily for him, there is not an Argument (I ſhould have ſaid Aſſertion) uſed by him againſt Writing, but what will bear fifty times as ſtrongly againſt Preaching. I'll, however, acquit him from meaning this Conſequence, or any other but that which his Man meant, and which ſeems a Conſequence at leaſt extreamly remote. The Doctor is, indeed, admirable: While he thought himſelf haranguing, and ſcattering Words againſt Libelling, he was actually inveighing virulently againſt himſelf, and preaching an angry Libel againſt Preaching. May the Preſs and Liberty be ever bleſs'd with ſuch Foes. The Doctor does not want

want Words; it is Pity but he knew the Use of them.

Says Mr. *Bayes*, in the *Rehearsal*, *I bring out my Bull and my Bear; and what do you think I make them do, Mr.* Johnson?

Johnson. *Do! why, fight, I suppose.*

Bayes. *See how you are mistaken now! I would as soon make them dance; no, igad, Sir, I make them do no earthly Thing.*

There is this Difference between the Doctor's Bull, and Mr. *Bayes*'s Bull; the Doctor's Bull bellows; besides this, he does no earthly Thing neither.

Pray, Sir, be not so proud and lazy, —— read some of your Adversaries, and their Bulls will divert you.

Methinks, as great a Man as the World takes you to be, and as you may think your self, you treat your intended Adversaries, but real Friends, too superciliously, and, I conceive, with too much Contempt. I am told by some of your intimate Friends, that you have never read any of their Works, and yet, to my Knowledge, several of them please themselves with having mortified you, and do themselves no small Credit amongst their Acquaintance by bragging of it. Give, Sir, your poor Retainers, this Consolation, since they are like to have no other: Consider them as Brats of your own begetting, and since you have brought them into the World, that you ought to support them. Your taking but the least Notice of them, and their Performances, will give them Food and Raiment: But I will beg leave to say, it is very unnatural, when you have

have given Birth to ſo many innocent and harmleſs Creatures, to leave them afterwards to ſtarve. You ſee, Sir, that they want no Induſtry or Application, and 'tis not their Fault if they want Succeſs. Take, generous *Cato*, a little Notice of them, and I am ſure they will gratefully acknowledge your Indulgence. Read, O *Cato!* their Labours, and condeſcend to throw away a few leiſure Hours in contemplating the Imbecility of human Nature. It becomes the greateſt Men to know the weak Sides of it as well as the ſtrong; at leaſt you will learn this Leſſon by it, That

Man differs more from Man, than Man from Beaſt.

Give me leave to conclude with a Story: Once upon a Time, I ſaw a brave large Bull, of great Comlineſs and Dignity, brought out upon a Green near a Country Village to be baited. Among the Bull-Dogs fetch'd to bait him, were ſeen ſeveral dirty, deform'd Currs, call'd Houſe-Dogs, that vented all their Choler in filthy Noiſe. They bark'd aloud and bitterly, and diſturb'd every Body but the Bull, who, at all their ſnapping, ſniveling, and ſnarling, never turned his Head, nor mov'd a Foot or a Horn. At laſt the Squire of the Place, who preſided at the Entertainment, ſhew'd himſelf a Man of Taſte and Equity. *Take away*, ſays he, with a Voice of Authority, *take away theſe yelping Mungrels: We do not uſe to bait Bulls with Turnſpits.*

I am, SIR,

Your Humble Servant,

HORATIUS.

SIR,

I Intend to consider in this Paper, the Behaviour and Spirit of the Conspirators, and to shew what Enemies they are, even to such as are favourable to them. But, before I proceed to enquire into the avowed Causes of all this outragious Disaffection, I will freely own, that many Things have been done which cannot be justified; some, perhaps, ignorantly, many ambitiously, and others, it is to be feared, traiterously, to help the Conspirators, by provoking the People, and by rendring the Administration odious. Sure I am, there are many pregnant Appearances that look sadly this Way, and can be construed no other Way; and these Measures gave much Sorrow and Indignation to the best Friends of the Government, as I doubt not but they did Pleasure and Hopes to the disaffected, who saw how fast by such Steps their Views were advanced. Treason is most successfully carried on by unsuspected Traytors, as Friends are easiest betray'd and undone by Friends. The Cry therefore of the Conspirators against unpopular Proceedings, was all Hypocrisy, and false Fire: They saw their mischievous Influence, and rejoiced in it: They thought they were saved the Danger and Trouble of Plotting; and that all they had to do, was to hold the

Match ready, while other People were laying the Train; and to put their Sickle into a Harveſt not of their own ſowing. How near they were to reaping this Harveſt, is now apparent.

Every good Man will condemn unjuſt Meaſures, let them come from what Quarter they will. But the Conſpirators could not with a good Grace condemn the worſt, even ſuppoſing the Reſentment ſincere. The wildeſt and wickedeſt Things done by their own Party, have been conſtantly and zealouſly defended and promoted by them: And they have ſteddily acted for or againſt a Party from Paſſion or Faction. Nor has the Love of their Country, and the Good of the Whole, ſeparated from Party, ever ſway'd them in one publick Action, that I remember. Neither is it any Defence of them, that others, who profeſs'd larger, and more human and publick Principles, have fallen too often into the ſame Partiality, and been too often govern'd by the ſame narrow, ſelfiſh, and paſſionate Spirit. Who have ever ſworn more blindly in *Verba Magiſtri* than the Conſpirators? Who have ever more notoriouſly ſhewn, that they knew no other Meaſures of Right and Wrong, of Religion and Impiety, than the Meaſures eſpous'd or oppos'd by their own Leaders? What Jobb has been ſo vile, that they have not blindly approv'd? Or what Scheme ſo juſt, that they have not fiercely condemned? Juſt as this Scheme, or that Jobb has taken its Riſe from this or that Quarter.

Nor

Nor was the Spirit of Faction ever more manifeſt, than in the preſent Conſpiracy: What did the Conſpirators want, but Plunder and Places? But what Advantages was their Country to reap from the violent Change, which they were bringing upon it? Before they could have accompliſh'd it, the Nation and every Thing in it muſt have been thrown into Convulſions, and a Chaos. What Order could they bring out of this Confuſion? What Amends could they make for unſettled or plundered Property, a Trade ſtagnated or loſt, Harveſts deſtroyed, contending Armies, Bloodſhed, Slaughter and Battles, general Deſolation, univerſal Terror, every Man's Sword againſt his Neighbour, and the foreign Sword againſt all, and dyed with the Blood of *Britons*, and his Majeſty depos'd, and perhaps butcher'd? For it could not be poſſible, even for them to ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty and his Family, poſſeſs'd of ſo much Power in his Native Dominions, ſupported by ſuch Numbers, ſuch Wealth and Dependances in *Great Britain*, and by ſo many powerful Allies abroad, could be effectually expelled by their bigotted Idol, and his Champions, but after a long and fatal Civil War, fought within our Bowels: A War in which moſt of the contending Powers of *Europe* would have been Parties, and which muſt have ended in the utter Loſs of our Liberties, which ever Side had prevailed.

In Anſwer to this black Catalogue of Woes, will they urge that *England* and *Engliſh* Liberty, and the Proteſtant Religion, would have been indeed deſtroyed; but that they, the

Conſpirators, would have had Places? And yet what elſe can they urge? For this is the Sum of their Reaſoning, whatever Diſguiſes they would put upon it. Such was their Spirit; and I wiſh it were as new as it is ſhocking and horrible. But alaſs! it is as old as Men: And every Country upon Earth, that has been undone, has been undone to ſatiate the Ambition of one, or a few, who aimed at ſeizing or extending Power.

The Complaints of Miſcarriages, of wrong Steps, and Abuſe of Power, came awkardly and abſurdly from their Mouths, whatever Grounds there may have been for ſuch Complaints. What Security could the Conſpirators give us, that, contrary to the Nature of Man, and of Power, and to their own Nature and Conduct, they themſelves would be humble in Grandeur, and modeſt in Exaltation, and occupy Power with Moderation, Self-denial, and clean Hands? They, who would overturn the Conſtitution, and the Foundations of the Earth, and fill the Land with Violence, War and Blood, to come at that Power! Can we conceive it poſſible that any Regard to the Publick Good, and to Publick Property, would have the leaſt Influence over thoſe Men, who would ſacrifice the Publick, and annihilate all Property, for the Gratification of perſonal Ambition and Rage? Or how ſhould the Love of Liberty and Peace bind theſe Men, whom neither the Laws of Humanity, and of their Country, nor the Religion of an Oath, nor the awful Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, can in the leaſt bind?

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They exclaim againſt Armies and Taxes, and are the Cauſe of both, and rail at Grievances of their own creating. Who make Armies neceſſary, but they, who would invade, and enſlave, or deſtroy us by Armies, foreign Popiſh Armies? Who make Taxes neceſſary, but they, who by daily conſpiring againſt our Peace and our Property, and againſt that Eſtabliſhment which ſecures both, force us to give Part to ſave all? And who, but they, can give a Handle and Pretence to ſuch as delight in Taxes and Armies, and proſper by them, to continue and increaſe them? They are not only the Authors of thoſe great Grievances, but of all the Evils and ſubſequent Grievances which proceed from them. Had the Conſpirators ſucceeded, can we think, or will they have the Face to ſay, that they would have rul'd without Armies? The Yoke of Uſurpation and Servitude is never to be kept on without the Sword. They who make Armies neceſſary now, would have found them neceſſary then: Nor would they have rediculouſly and madly truſted to their Merit and popular Conduct, when in this very Inſtance they ſhew that no Means were too black, no Pitch of Iniquity and Cruelty too horrid, for the Accompliſhment of their Treaſon; and general Plunder and Devaſtation, Conflagrations and Murder, were the concerted Specimens of their Spirit, and to be the hopeful Beginnings of their Reign. Did King *James*, whoſe Misfortunes they caus'd and lament, did he, or could he, pretend to ſuppor this Religion, and his arbitrary Adminiſtration, without the

Violence of the Sword, and without a great and a Popiſh Army? Is the Pretender of a different Religion, or more moderate in the ſame Religion? Or does he diſavow his Father's Government, and propoſe a better and a milder of his own? Does he pretend to come, or to ſtay here without Armies? And are not Governments continued, and muſt be, by the ſame Means by which they were founded? A Government begun by Armies and the Violation of Property, muſt be continu'd by Armies, Oppreſſion and Violence.

What is here ſaid of Taxes and Armies may be ſaid of the Suſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* Act. They complain of the Suſpenſion as a heavy Evil; and by their inceſſant Plots and Rebellions, make long and frequent Suſpenſions inevitable. By their eternal Deſigns and Attacks upon us, they force us upon the next Means of Self-preſervation; and then complain of Oppreſſion, becauſe we will not ſuffer them to oppreſs and deſtroy us. It is therefore owing to them, that the Subject is taken from under the Protection of the common Law, and left to the Diſcretion of the Court. Who ſays that this is deſirable? But who makes it neceſſary, or gives a Pretence for it?

We were all juſtly fill'd with the Apprehenſion of loſing *Gibraltar*, and thought that no Doom was too bad for the Traytor that had agreed to give it up, (if there ever was ſuch a Traytor in his Majeſty's Service;) and the Conſpirators exclaim'd as loudly as any. But behold their Baſeneſs and Inſincerity in this,

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as in other Complaints, and their extenſive Enmity to their Country in every Inſtance! By the Conſpiracy it appears, that they labour'd with foreign Powers to have *Gibraltar* taken from *Great Britain*, on purpoſe to enrage the Nation to part with their Government and their Religion, in Reſentment for the Loſs of that ſingle, tho' important Fortreſs.

The late Management of the *South-Sea* was another Topick of Reſentment and Complaint, and a juſt one, whatever unjuſt Uſes the Conſpirators made of it. It is reaſonable to believe, that in their Hearts they rejoyc'd in it, ſince from the univerſal Diſpleaſure, Confuſion, and Loſſes, occaſion'd by it, and from the Bitterneſs caus'd by thoſe Loſſes, they drew Hopes and a good Omen to their Conſpiracy, which elſe muſt have been impotent and languiſhing. The tender and ſlow Proſecution of the execrable Managers, the gentle Puniſhment inflicted upon them, and the obvious Difficulties thrown in the Way of any Puniſhment at all, were freſh Provocations to a plunder'd and abus'd Nation, and freſh Stimulations to the Conſpirators. They ſaw, that great Numbers, who had always hated them and their Pretender, were now, under their heavy Misfortunes, and in the preſent Agonies of their Soul, brought to think not unkindly of him and his Cauſe, or to be entirely indifferent about it. They ſaid they were undone, and could not be worſe undone, and that nothing in human Shape, or in any Shape, could uſe them ſo ill as the Directors had; the execrable, rich, and unhang'd Directors!

But of all Men, it leaſt became the Conſpirators to be noiſy about the helliſh Management of the *South-Sea* Scheme; ſince one of the firſt and moſt certain Conſequences of the Conſpiracy, would have been the utter Ruin of the whole *South-Sea* Stock, and of all the many Thouſands who have their Property in it. The *Bank*, and all other publick Funds, would have had the ſame Fate; nay, one of the firſt Steps would have been the plundering of the *Bank*, and the Seizure of all the Books of the great Companies.

This was ſo much the Deſign of the Conſpirators, that one Reaſon given by themſelves for delaying the Execution of the Plot, was, that a principal Conſpirator, who had a great deal of Stock, might have Time to ſell out. So that they who did ſo virtuouſly and diſintereſtedly exclaim againſt the Abuſe of publick Credit, would have ſunk and deſtroyed for ever, not only the publick Funds, but the Foundation of all publick Credit, and publick Happineſs, publick and private Property.

The Conſpirators likewiſe profeſs a loud Zeal and Concern for the Church; and Papiſts, Nonjurors, and perjured Traytors, were to deliver a Proteſtant Church from a Proteſtant Government, which protected her, to be better protected by a Popiſh Bigot, and his Popiſh Monks, who all think her damned. A Zeal therefore for the Church, was to juſtify the moſt hideous Impieties, a general Perjury, foreign Invaſions, and the final Overthrow of all Liberty, Virtue, and Religion: The re-

formed

formed Church of *England* was, for a protecting Father, to be surrendred to a Nursling of the Pope's, who by his Religion is, and must be, a determin'd Enemy to the whole Reformation in general, and to the Church of *England* in particular; and is under the Menaces and Horrors of Damnation, if he does not exert his whole Policy and Power to extirpate the Protestant Name, and introduce a Religion which is worse than none, as it professedly tolerates no other, and persecutes Conscience, which is the Source and Seat of Religion, the only Source that any Religion can have. While there are Men and Societies of Men, there will be Religion; and where Dread and Tyranny are taken away, different Religions; and yet no Religion is preferable to a cruel Religion; a Religion that curses and oppresses Toleration, which is a Principle inseparable from Christianity; a Religion which buries the Bible, or burns it, and all that read it, and damns all Meekness and Mercy; a Religion that defaces the Creation, cheats, impoverishes, oppresses, and exhausts human Race, and arms its Apostles with Jails, Tortures, Gibbets, Impostures, and a bloody Knife.

Every other Complaint of the Conspirators, might with the same Facility and Truth be turned upon them. But this Paper is already too long. I will therefore conclude with observing, that the Conspirators have by the Assistance of malicious Calumnies, blind Prejudices, gross Ignorance, and constant Misrepresentations, misled and abus'd their Party, and

governed them by abuſing them. That they have wickedly taught them to hate a Government, which, with all the Faults, true or falſe, that their worſe Malice can charge it with, does juſt as far excel that which they would introdue, as the Bleſſings and Beauties of Liberty tranſcend the horrid Deformities of Slavery, and the implacable and deſtroying Spirit of *Popiſh* Tyranny. That they have wickedly taught them to be weary of their preſent free Condition; which, with all its Diſadvantages, Debts, and Taxes, is eaſy and happy, greatly and conſpicuouſly happy, in Compariſon of any Condition of any People under any *Popiſh* Prince now upon Earth. That they have, by perpetual Deluſion and Lies, work'd them to a Readineſs, nay, a Paſſion, to venture and ſacrifice their whole Property, rather than pay a Part to ſecure the Whole; and to wiſh for a Revolution, a *Romiſh* Revolution, which will neither leave them their Property, their Conſcience, nor their Bible!

I am, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE in my laſt conſidered the Spirit of the Conſpirators in general: I will in this addreſs my ſelf to thoſe of the Clergy, who have joined with them, or are well affected to them. That there are ſome ſuch, no

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Body doubts; and our Enemies boaſt, I hope unjuſtly, of a great Majority: But let them be many, or few, none can be affected by what is hereafter ſaid, but thoſe to whom it is applicable.

I ſhall not here urge the ſacred Ties you are under; Ties ſufficient to bind any Conſcience, which is not paſt all Tenderneſs and Senſe of Feeling; Ties awful and ſolemn enough to reſtrain Minds that any Religion can reſtrain; and Ties from which no lawleſs Breach of the Coronation-Oath, nor any Act of Tyranny, has diſengag'd you; tho', according to your own Doctrines, your peculiar and favourite Doctrine, ſo often thundered in the Ears of *Engliſhmen*, *No Act nor Acts of Tyranny can diſſolve the Bonds of Allegiance.* But I would reaſon with you upon the Point of more Weight and Moment with you, your ſecular State and Intereſt.

Pray what Violence has been offered to your Dignities and Immunities? What Breach made upon your Livings and Revenues? What Good has been done to Religion at your Expence? What arbitrary Indulgences have been granted to Diſſenters, or legal ones, beſides that of worſhipping God? Is it a Sin againſt you, to ſuffer them to exerciſe Religion in a Way different from you, when every Man who worſhips God, muſt worſhip him his own Way, in the Way which he thinks God will accept, elſe he cannot worſhip him at all? What other Worſhip will God accept, but that which Conſcience dictates? Every other Worſhip is Hypocriſy; which is worſe than a falſe Religion,

gion, proceeding from a good Conſcience. He who complies with a Religion, which he condemns or deſpiſes, worſhips not God, but the Pride of Prieſts; and is therefore their Friend and Favourite; while the upright Man who adores his God in ſpite of them, and will not diſſemble in ſo nice and ſacred a Point, is a Capital Foe. The Religion of one's Country, to any Man who diſlikes it, is Cant, and no more than the Religion of *Lapland*. Beſides, would your own Pride ſuffer any of you to comply with the Religion of *Scotland*, or *Geneva*, if you were there? On the contrary, do you not conſtantly encourage there, what you conſtantly exclaim againſt as Schiſm here, a Separation from the eſtabliſh'd Communion?

The State which makes you what you are, and gives you what you have, may by the ſame Right and Power confer what Favours, Privileges, and Bounties it pleaſes upon any other different Bodies of Men: Nor could you in Modeſty, or Common Senſe, complain, that a Legiſlature diſpos'd of its Gifts and Graces according to its own Wiſdom and Diſcretion; and yet you have not even had this No-provocation. What Diſſenter, what Presbyterian, has been preferr'd to the Preferments of the Church, or any other, unleſs all who are faithful to the Government and to their Oaths, are Diſſenters? And will you pay Diſſenters this Compliment? None but Churchmen are preferr'd in the Church, or in the State. No Preferments are continued vacant; the Church Revenues are not leſſened, nor impaired, but

every

every Day increas'd. All the usual and legal Advantages of the Church are secure to Churchmen, and none but Churchmen possess them. All their Honours, all their Emoluments are in their Hands, and they are protected in them; nor are any Hardships done them, or suffer'd to be done them, but that of restraining them from putting Hardships, Distresses and Shackles upon others; and that of confining a Bishop, and some of his lower Brethren, for Treason against their God and their Oaths, their Religion and their King. And the outrageous and brutal Resentments they have shewn for this necessary, this legal Proceeding, shew what Friends you are to that Establishment, which maintains and supports you in such Ease, Honours, and Plenty; and which he, and such as he, would have destroyed: You indeed, make it more and more manifest that your greatest Quarrel to the Government, is, that it will not put Swords into your Hands to destroy it. Will you after this, complain that the Government will not particulary distinguish you, you only, and your deluded Party, with Honour, Trust, and Esteem, for this your declared Infidelity and Enmity to the Government.

But the Convocation, you cry, does not sit. This, you think a crying Evil: But before we agree with you in this Thought, you ought to shew us what Good their present Sitting would do. And if you would shew too, what Good their Sitting ever did, or ever can do, you would inform many who are in utter Ignorance as to this great Affair. Do

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Convocations always, or at any Time promote Peace and Indulgence, and the tender Charity of Chriſtianity? Have their furious Contentions for Eccleſiaſtical Union ever increas'd Chriſtian Union? Has their Fierceneſs for Garments and Sounds, and the Religion of the Body and the Breath, had any good Effect upon Humanity, Sincerity, Conſcience, and the Religion of the Soul? Have not ſome of them, and ſome not very late ones, gone to open War with Moderation and common Senſe; and with ſuch as only offended by reconciling Religion with Moderation and common Senſe? And by proving that our Saviour lyed not, when he declared that *his Kingdom was not of this World*? How did the late Convocation particularly, and their Champions, agree with their Head and Saviour, the great Biſhop of Souls, upon this Article? Will ſuch as you ſay, that for the Intereſt of this Government, the Convocation ought to ſit? And ought it to ſit for any other Intereſt? Be ſo good to lay before us the Services done, and the Inſtances of Zeal ſhewn, by the late Convocations, to this Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment.

Another of your common-place Cries is, That the Clergy are contemn'd. What Clergy, Gentlemen? Are any contemn'd but the Profane, the Forſworn, the Rebellious, the Lewd, the Turbulent, the Inſatiable, the Proud, and the Perſecuting, ſuch as will be anavoidably contemn'd, and ought to be contemn'd by all that have Conſcience, Virtue, Loyalty, and common Honeſty? And will you ſay that the Clergy, or the

the Body of the Clergy, feel, or ought to feel this Contempt? Why ſhould the juſt Doom of the Traytors of their Order affect the Credit of the Clergy, or fill with Apprehenſions ſuch as are not Traytors? If they hate their Crimes, what Credit or Reſpect is due to the Criminal? And if any of them reſpect the Crime, what Reſpect is due to them from thoſe who abhor Traytors and Treaſon, which all good Men abhor?

Your little Regard to Conſcience, and your wanton Contempt of Oaths, are ſad Proofs how ſmall Power the Chriſtian Religion, or any Religion, has over you. What can bind the Man whom Oaths cannot bind? Can Society have any ſtronger Hold of him? And are not they Enemies to Society, and to Mankind; they who violate all the Bonds by which Societies ſubſiſt, and by which Mankind are diſtinguiſh'd from wild Beaſts? You boaſt of your Succeſſion from the Apoſtles. Do you do as the Apoſtles did? Or would they have deſerv'd that venerable Name, or found Credit amongſt Men, or made one Convert from Heatheniſm, if they had been the ambitious Diſturbers of Government; and by profanely trampling upon Oaths, had publiſh'd to the World, by their Practice, an atheiſtical Contempt of all Conſcience and religious Reſtraints? The Apoſtles, rather than diſown their Faith and Opinion, and diſſemble a lying Regard for the Gentile Deities, for a Moment, were miſerable in their Lives, and Martyrs in their Death; nor could Racks, Wheels, Fire, and

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all the Engines of Torture and Cruelty, extort from them one hypocritical Declaration, one Profeſſion that their Souls contradicted. Neither they, nor their pious Followers, needed to have been Martyrs, had they been guided by a Spirit that taught Religion and Conſcience to ſtoop to worldly Intereſt and Luxury.

You ſay; I have heard ſome of you ſay, That you are forc'd to ſwear. How were you forc'd? Can Conſcience be forc'd? You may as well ſay, that Men may be forc'd to like a Religion which they hate. Can any Excuſe be an Excuſe for Perjury? Were *Shadrack*, *Meſhack*, and *Abed-nego*, forc'd to worſhip *Nebuchadnezzar's* Golden Image? Were the firſt Reformers forc'd to adore a Wafer for a God? Was St. *Paul* to be forc'd to offer Incenſe, and worſhip Idols? Or, if he had, would his Preaching been of any Effect, or ought to have been? Either the Goſpel condemns the Proſtitution of Conſcience and Religion to Eaſe and Intereſt; or ſuch Proſtitution, if the Goſpel allow'd it, would condemn the Goſpel. You muſt therefore either renounce the Goſpel, which in Practice you do; or condemn your ſelves, which I do not hear you do: And in Honour to the Chriſtian Religion, the peaceable, the ſincere, the conſcientious, and diſintereſted Chriſtian Religion, all Men who are ſincere Chriſtians, or only honeſt Moraliſts, muſt condemn you, and abhor your Practices.

But how were you forc'd? Either you muſt ſwear Fidelity to a Government which pro-

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tects you, and takes nothing from you, or you must quit the Advantages, and not eat the Bread of the Government; (for that the Government gives you all you have, I am ready to prove whenever you please.) Now if you have really tender Consciences, you would not swear: But if your Tithes and Rents are dearer to you than your Consciences, then it is plain your Consciences are not tender. It is a very harden'd Conscience, that is not dearer to a Man than his Belly. Your Perjury therefore is pure Wantonness, and an utter Absence of all Honesty, Conscience, and Shame. Are these Qualifications proper to direct the Lives and Consciences of others? And to promote in the Minds and Practices of others the scrupulous and upright Religion of our Blessed Saviour?

Cease, for God's sake, to use that Holy Name, or use it better. Can you bring People to him, by shewing you selves daily Apostates from him? Cease mentioning the holy Martyrs, you who are a Disgrace and direct Antipodes to the Martyrs, and the Spirit of Martyrdom, and would make a Martyr of that Religion for which they died. For shame, rail not at Atheism, speak not of Atheists, you who give essential Proofs of the blackest Atheism. What is Atheism, but an utter Disbelief, or, which is really worse, an utter Contempt of the Deity? And what is a stronger Demonstration of that Contempt, than a daring, a practical Contempt of Conscience, his Deputy within us, and a wanton and solemn Invocation of his awful Name to Hypocrisy,

crisy, Deceit, and determin'd Falshood? This is making the Godhead a Party to Infidelity, and Treason against himself: It is mocking God, and abusing Men, and making Religion the Means of Damnation. What can equal this horrible Crime, the Root and Womb of all Crimes? Or what Words can describe it? This, Gentlemen, is your Advantage: No Language suffices to paint out your Wickedness: You are secure that your Picture can never be fully drawn, or the World see it in half its Blackness and Deformity.

Will you after this scould at the Morals and Impiety of the Age? You who lay the broadest Foundation for all Immorality and Wickedness, by letting loose the Minds of Men from all the strongest Bonds of Virtue and of human Society, the inviolable Engagements of Conscience, and the Awe of the supreme Being! After you have thus proclaim'd in the most effectual Manner, that you have no Religion, or that Religion has no Power over you, will you continue to fill the World and weak Heads with canting Conjectures and barren Speculations, as if Religion consisted in Whims, Dreams, and Non-entities? And when you have, as far as your Authority and Example go, depriv'd Almighty God of the essential Worship arising from social Virtue, Peace, Charity, and good Conscience towards God and Man, will you be still adding further Indignities to the Deity, be representing him chiefly pleas'd with unmanly Grimaces, Words without Meaning, the Nonsense of Meta-

Metaphyſicks, the Jargon of Logick, and the Cant of Myſtery?

But this Subject is too long for one Paper: I ſhall therefore continue it in my next. In ſome following Letters I ſhall ſhew my poor deluded Countrymen by what wretched Guides in Church and State they are conducted, and whoſe Jobbs they are doing, to their own Undoing.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I Proceed in my Addreſs to the Diſaffected Part of the Clergy.

Are not you the Men who profeſs'd ſuch blind, ſuch unconditional Submiſſion to Princes, the moſt oppreſſive and tyrannical Princes, and damn'd all who would not go your mad, your impious, and your impracticable Lengths? And are not you the firſt to bring home your own Damnation to your own Doors, by ſhewing that no Obligation, human or divine, can withold you from rebelling againſt the moſt legal Government, and mildeſt Prince? To aſſert that the Government is not a lawful Government, is to aſſert your own Perjury; and by diſowning the Government, you diſown all Honeſty and Conſcience. The Government is founded upon Reaſon, upon Laws, and Conſent, the only Founda-

tion of any Government; and it is administer'd with Equity, and without the Blemish of Violence, or of dispensing arbitrarily with Laws: And yet this Government is to be resisted, betrayed, and overturned; while a Government, founded upon the Chance of Blood, and upon the hereditary Sufficiency of Men, and successive Chastity of Women; and which acts by Discretion, Cruelty, or Folly, is of divine Appointment, and irresistable. What can be more monstrous? And what capricious and hard-hearted Folly you would fix upon the good and all-wise God? By which you only shew that your hallowed Nonsense, if you are in earnest, is as signal as your Wickedness.

As to the Pretender's Right, I know not what it is; unless it be, That because his suppos'd Father violated his Coronation-Oath and the Laws, usurped a Tyrannical Power, and oppress'd and enslav'd these Nations five and thirty Years ago, therefore his suppos'd Son has a lawful Right to enslave them now. And I defy you, with all your Distinctions, and Men of Distinctions, to produce a better Argument upon this Head of Right. Besides, how can the Pretender think that you have any the least Regard to his Right, when you have so often and so solemnly sworn that he had none? Dispossess you selves, if you can, of the Spirit of Faction, and of groundless Displeasure and Revenge; and then try if you can find any divine, any unalterable Right in the Pretender. He has in truth no Right, but what your own unruly

unruly and reſtleſs Paſſions give him. We all know what would cure you of your Opinion of his Title, of your Fondneſs of his Perſon. The Conſtitution will not ſtoop to you; the Government will not be govern'd by you; you have not the Power; you have not the Revenues of the ancient Eccleſiaſticks before *Henry* VIII's Days; nor would you, if the Pretender was here: And if you had not, in three Months you would be fierce for ſending him abroad again, as you did his ſuppos'd Father; or uſing him worſe. Of this I am certain, that if he rul'd as his preſent Majeſty does, you would treat him, and obey him, and honour him, juſt as you do his preſent Majeſty. Plead no longer your Conſciences, which you have ſo long, and ſo often, and ſo vilely proſtituted, and ſtill proſtitute! No body will receive the Plea.

Before you can pretend to make your Notions and Authority paſs with others, you muſt ſhew that you your ſelves are guided by any Notions of Right or Wrong. If you would clear your ſelves from the Guilt, the horrid Guilt of conſtant and repeated Perjury; ſhew how faithfully, how religiouſly you have kept your Oaths. If you would not be thought diſaffected, ſhew by ſome particular Inſtances your Faith and Attachment to the Government, from the Revolution to this Day. What have you done to prevent or repreſs Plots, Aſſaſſinations, and Rebellions; to render them odious in the Hearts of your Peo-

ple;

ple; or to satisfy the World that they were odious in your own? And is not this the Duty of Christians and Preachers, and your sworn Duty? In a stupid Dispute about Grimace and Forms, or about paltry Distinctions and empty Words, you are all in Flame and Uproar, and fill your Pulpits, and your People, and the Nation with your important Nonsense, and the Danger of Sense: But when Church and State were just going to be swallowed up by Popery and Tyranny, what Allarms have you rung? What Resentment, what Attachment to the Establishment and your Oaths have you shewn? What honest Testimony have you born?

And what have you done, Gentlemen, since the Discovery of this horrid Conspiracy? You that from your lofty *Rostrums* have scatter'd Poison and epidemical Distempers over the Land, as if out of *Pandora*'s Box; what Antidotes have you applied to the Venom you have dispers'd? What Satisfaction have you made for all the Mischiefs you have done, and which glare you in the Face? What Sermons have you preach'd? What Discourses have you printed? What Detestation have you shewn against this monstrous Design, level'd at the Life of the Prince who protects you, against the Religion you ought to support, and which supports you, and against the Liberties and Estates of your Contrymen, from whose mistaken Confidence you derive all your Power and Wealth?

What has been done by the Governors of the Universities to promote Loyalty either in Tutors

Tutors or Pupils, and to support the Principles upon which the Revolution stands? What Charges have been given by Archdeacons (to say nothing of their Betters) to enforce Obedience to this Government upon the Foot of Liberty? How many seditious Priests have met with Punishment or Discountenance from their Superiors; tho' we all know what Resentment they would have found, if any one had dared to have open'd his Mouth against the Power and Pride of his Order?

What Care has been taken in the licensing or approving of School-Masters, who are almost all Jacobites! What a bitter and disaffected Spirit is there in the Charity-Schools, and all Schools! Is there a Contest any where between two Candidates, but the most Disaffected has the Vote and Interest of the Country-Clergy? And is not the same Partiality practis'd in most of the Colleges of the Universities?

Reconcile, if you can, your wild Conduct to any Semblance of Religion, or of common Sense and common Honesty. If a Protestant Dissenter is to be let into a Place by the good Pleasure and Indulgence of the Law; what Books, Scolding, and Fury! But when the Pretender and Popery are to be let into *England*, to the utter Subversion of Religion and Property, and against Law and Oaths; what Resignation! what Silence! Tho' you are sworn to oppose them, strongly and solemnly sworn, and have no Provocation not to oppose them, but that the Happiness and Estates of the Laity, and the Tender-

ness

derneſs ſhewn to Diſſenters, by which our People and our Riches are increas'd, and our Chriſtian Spirit is ſhewn, diſturb the Pride of the narrow, perſecuting Eccleſiaſticks, always inſatiable and diſcontented, and always plotting and railing, while the Wealth and Dominion of Mankind are not entirely theirs.

It would be endleſs to enter into all the late and publick Inſtances of your Perjury, your Diſaffections, and furious Spirit. I ſhall mention but one, and one that is a Diſgrace to our Nation; an Inſtance of a mean Prieſt, deſtitute of Name and Parts, try'd and condemn'd for Sedition, and yet almoſt deify'd for his Inſolence and Crimes. Ignorant of the Laws, and deſpiſing his own Oaths, he publickly attack'd the Conſtitution, and libell'd it. He aſſerted the Irreſiſtibleneſs of all Governments, good or bad, tho' our own was founded upon Reſiſtance. For this daring Offence he was impeach'd and try'd; try'd by one Part of the Legiſlature before the other, and condemn'd by all three: So that the Buſineſs of the Nation, and of *Europe*, ſtood ſtill for many Weeks, till this groveling Offender had a Hearing, and his Sentence; a Sentence, which would have come more properly for him from the Chairman of a Petty-Seſſions, than from the Mouth of a Lord High Chancellor of *England!*

What Reverence might not have been expected to ſuch a Tryal as this, and what Acquieſcence as to the Iſſue of it, eſpecially from thoſe who contended, daily and vehemently contended, from the Pulpit and the Preſs,

for

for Submiſſion, unlimited Submiſſion, to Governors, tho' Tyrants and Oppreſſors! But inſtead of this, as if they intended to publiſh to the World, that the meaneſt of the Order, how vile and inſolent ſoever, is not to be touch'd for the moſt enormous Crimes, even in the moſt legal, open, and honourable Manner, even by the whole Legiſlature, the moſt ſolemn and auguſt Judicature upon Earth; there was ſuch a hideous Stir made; ſuch a horrible Outcry and Spirit were rais'd; ſuch Inſolences, Tumults and Inſurrections enſued; ſuch Contempt was ſhewn of Power and Magiſtracy; and ſuch Lies and Libels publiſh'd againſt thoſe who poſſeſs'd them; ſuch lying Encomiums were beſtow'd upon the ſentenc'd Criminal; ſuch profane Complements were made him; and ſuch profound and inſolent Reſpect was paid him; as if there had been neither Religion nor Order in the Land, but both had been baniſh'd out of it by many of the avow'd and hir'd Advocates for Religion and Order; who, all the while they were thus reviling and reſiſting Authority, had ſtill the Front to preſs and preach abſolute Non-Reſiſtance to Authority, and to reward what they themſelves were doing with Damnation, unleſs it were ſafe and laudable to reſiſt the moſt lawful Power, but ſinful and damnable to reſiſt that which is lawleſs. For after ſo many Oaths to the Government, and ſo many Abjurations of the Pretender, they durſt not ſay the Government was unlawful. But the Rage and Uproar they were in even before the Sentence, were as great as

if the Prieſthood itſelf, nay, all Nature, was to have been overturn'd by the apprehended whipping of a profligate Prieſt.

A ſufficient Leſſon is this to all Governments, how this ſort of Men are to be truſted with Power, who dare thus act in ſpite of all Power! and a ſtrong Proof to all Men how little Regard is due to the Opinions and Doctrines of theſe Men, who do not regard their own Doctrines! who teach what no Man ought to practice, and themſelves will not! who are perpetually contradicting themſelves, and one another, and yet are never in the Wrong! and who would not ſuffer the meaneſt, or worſt of their Order, to be ſubject to the united and original Power of one of the greateſt States in the World!

Sure this cannot be forgot whilſt there is a King, or Liberty, in *Iſrael!*

I am, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are abus'd: You are blindly govern'd by certain Chiefs, who can have no View but to diſpoſe of you; to make Sale of you for their own proper Advantage. By prating Pedants, and diſaffected Monks, and by Party-Cries, and Party-Revelling, and Hogſheads of *October*, you are brought to adore this Duke, that Lord, and t'other Knight or Squire; and

and to think that the Publick is undone, unleſs it be under the ſole Management of theſe your Idols, who would effectually undo it. They once had Places: Had you then more Money, more Trade, or more Land and Liberty, by any wiſe or virtuous Conduct of theirs, than you have now? And did they not take that Opportunity of your generous Confidence in them, to betray you baſely to *France* and the Pretender? And have they not ever ſince been labouring, by Plots and Rebellion, to accompliſh that, which from the Shortneſs of their Reign, and the ſudden Change, they could not then accompliſh by Power?

Power and Places are ſtill their only Aim: And to come at them, you ſee they would make War upon Heaven and Earth, and involve you in Blood and Popery. But you cannot have Places, Gentlemen: Your only Ambition ought to be the Security of your Property, and to live like Freemen. And are you not free? Is not your Property ſecure? Or can theſe Men accompliſh their Deſigns and Conſpiracies, but at the Expence of your Eſtates and your Freedom? They ſeek their Grandeur, and all their Advantages, from your Ruin and Servitude. You muſt pay the whole and long Reckoning at laſt. You muſt fill the empty Coffers of new Shoals of *Banditti*, who muſt be rewarded out of your Pockets for their villanous Merit and pretended Sufferings. You will have a whole and black Flight of Harpies to glut, who with ravenous and unhallowed Claws will devour your Subſtance,

and your Children's Bread. All foreign Debts, all the Demands of *Spain* and *Rome*, will be brought upon you for Payment; and all you have will be too little to ſatiate needy Traytors, whom you madly want to ſave your All; which is not touch'd, nor can be hurt, but by them, and but too little to defend you from them.

Think you to be without Armies? No: Inſtead of occaſional Troops, which their wicked Plots and Devices, and your own Diſaffection, have brought upon you, you will ſee your Country and your Houſes fill'd with Popiſh Armies, perhaps foreign Popiſh Armies. You will be told, that Proteſtant and *Engliſh* ones, which already betray'd the Father, will betray the Son, and cannot be truſted: That your frequent Rebellions render you unfit to be rely'd on; and that if you turn'd out a Proteſtant Prince, whom you your ſelves call'd in, you will be apt, upon the leaſt Diſguſt, or Caprice, to turn out your hereditary King as you did his Father.

Think you that your preſent Debts will be cancell'd, and your Taxes made eaſy? No; your Taxes and your Funds will be continued: But inſtead of being apply'd, as they are, to pay off lawful Debts contracted for your Security, they will be ſeiz'd by this new Government, and call'd lawful Prize. It will be ſaid, that they were given to keep out your lawful King, and ought to be made uſe of to keep him in: That if you were ſo prodigal of your Wealth for the Support of Rebellion and Faction, can you refuſe theſe Revenues,

which

which are now no longer your own, but in Poſſeſſion of the Enemies of the Eſtabliſhment, who chiefly gain'd them at firſt by Stock-jobbing and Extortion, and now keep them as the Prizes of Diſloyalty and Treaſon: Can you refuſe theſe Revenues (ſo ill got, and as ill applied) to ſecure your lineal Government founded upon a long Succeſſion of your natural Princes? Theſe Revenues therefore, which are now your Property, and the Property of your Neighbours and Relations, will then be united to the Crown, fix an abſolute Power there, and entail laſting and irretrievable Slavery upon your ſelves and your Poſterity, and deſtroy at one Blow the whole Property and Trade of three great Kingdoms. At preſent, if prudent Methods be taken, (which ſurely Neceſſity muſt at laſt make us take,) theſe great Debts may be paid honeſtly off, and we may again ſee our ſelves a happy and diſengag'd People. But upon ſuch a dreadful Turn as the Conſpirators intended, they will be thrown into a free Gift, and your Taxes will be made perpetual, to perpetuate your Slavery.

Do you expect any Redreſs of any kind from ſuch a Parliament as can then be choſen, if any is choſen? No; hope it not. All that would ſerve you faithfully in it, will be call'd Enemies and Traytors to the new, and Friends to the late Rebellious Eſtabliſhment. Such therefore will not dare to offer themſelves to your Choice; and, if they did, would be mobb'd, or impriſon'd. You muſt chuſe only ſuch as are recommended to you, the

ragged and famish'd Tribe that are brought over, Men of desperate Fortunes, the beggarly Plotters against your present Happiness, fiery and implacable Bigots, half Papists, enrag'd Malecontents, or rapacious Vultures; all gaping for Prey, all determin'd to every Measure of Oppression, and to sacrifice you and your Country to their Ambition and Want. You will then find time for Repentance, when it is too late, when all the Grievances which you now so wantonly complain of will fall upon you in earnest, and an hundred Fold, without Hope of Remedy or End.

Nor can this blessed Condition be brought upon you, but after the horrid Prelude of a long and cruel Civil War. You will first see your Country in Blood, your Cities burnt, your Houses plunder'd, your Cattle taken from you, your Stocks consum'd by Dragoons, and your Sons, your Neighbours, and Relations, murder'd before your Faces. Flatter not your selves, that his Majesty will easily quit the many Thousands of his Subjects, who will certainly and resolutely stand by him; or that he will want the Assistance of all the foreign Powers who are interested in his Establishment, or even in making this great Kingdom wretched, impotent, and poor. No, Gentlemen, you will have Armies of *Germans* and of *Dutch* pour'd in upon you on one Side, *Spaniards* and *Russes* on the other, and perhaps *French* on both Sides. *Irish* Papists will come over in Shoals; Hosts of *Highlanders* will fall like Snow from the North; and all the Necessitous, the Debauch'd, the Ambitious,

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the Rapacious, the Extravagant, and the Revengeful amongſt your ſelves, will think theſe your Calamities their Harveſt: They will banquet in your Plunder; and for a Share of you, will greedily join to devour you. Is this a Condition like that which you now enjoy?

How would you like to ſee your Churches dreſs'd up like Toyſhops, and Vermin of various Faſhions, Shapes and Colours, crawling about in them, antickly dreſs'd up in an hundred fantaſtical Garments; and the ſame Vermin, at other times, filling and polluting your Streets, haunting your Houſes, debauching and corrupting your Wives, perverting your Children, devouring your Subſtance, and lording it over you? You will hardly know, thus tranſmogrify'd, the old Faces you have been us'd to, the Faces of theſe impious Wretches, who would bring all theſe frightful Miſchiefs upon you. That they are ready and prepar'd for this ungodly Change, is evident from their maintaining and aſſerting all the vileſt and moſt formidable Tenets of Popery; and by their uniting in all the traiterous Intrigues, and in all the baſeſt and bloodieſt Counſels of Papiſts. But that the Papiſts would protect or prefer them afterwards, is more than doubtful: It is not likely that they will truſt thoſe whom by Experience they know no Truſt can bind. They know that thoſe who have betray'd you, and a King, who has protected and preferr'd them, will betray alſo even Papiſts. They know, that neither Religion, nor Conſcience, nor Honeſty, nor Hardſhip, has any Share in

their present Disaffection, which has its whole Root in Pride and Avarice, and the Lust of Rapine and Power, and that they will in a Moment turn upon them as soon as the first Preferments go by them, or they cannot all catch the Preferments and Wealth which they so immoderately thirst after.

Your present Deceivers, therefore, will not then be trusted. All Ecclesiastical Prizes will be the Prizes of Foreign Ecclesiasticks, or of those who have been ever staunch Catholicks at Home. The others will be left to certain Contempt, Beggary, and if possible to Shame. It will not be forgot what servile Adoration they paid, what hollow Complements they made, to the late King *James*; Adoration that bordered upon Blasphemy, and Complements that interfered with the incommunicable Attributes of God! And how faithlesly, how readily afterwards they betray'd him, when all his Favours did not fall in their Lap, and as soon as they found that for them alone his Tyranny was not exerted. It will be remembred how chearfully, or rather how revengefully, they run into the Revolution; and when they could not engross the whole Advantages of it, and could not make King *William* their Instrument and Bully, how they were continually libelling King *William* and the Revolution, continually prating, preaching, and plotting against both, notwithstanding their constant Oaths, their constant Abjurations, and Imprecations.

For

For God's ſake, Gentlemen, think what you are doing: Your Lives, your Eſtates, your Religion, your Conſcience, your Trade, your Country, your Honour, are all at ſtake, and you are wantonly throwing them all away; you are purſuing a falſe and miſerable Shadow; and it would be happy for you, were it only a Shadow: In reality, you are going to catch in your Embraces, Superſtition, Beggary, and Servitude. I approve your Love and Purſuit of Liberty, which ever was, and ever will be, a grateful and charming Sound in my Ears; and I will be always ready to lead you, or to follow you in that virtuous and noble Purſuit. This is Wiſdom! This is Honour! But Honour is to be acquired by honourable Means, and not by Rapine, Perjury, and Murder.

I thank God, we have yet the Means left within our Conſtitution to ſave our ſelves. We have, in ſpite of Malice and Contumelies, an excellent, meek, and benevolent Prince, who has in no one Inſtance of his Reign attempted to ſtrain his Prerogative above the Laws; which we defy his bittereſt Enemies to ſay of the beſt of their favourite Kings, his Predeceſſors. He has every Diſpoſition to make a People great and happy, and will be always ready to gratify them in every Thing they can reaſonably ask for their Security. But if we would make our ſelves ſecure, we muſt make him ſecure. It cannot be denied but there have been ſome Exceſſes of Power, and that we have ſuffer'd under many publick Calamities: None of them are, how-

ever, imputable to him; but to the Corruption and Intrigues of those who betrayed him and us, and to the constant Conspiracies of Traytors, which deterred honester Men from a severe Animadversion upon their Crimes, when they saw them pursued by those who rejoiced in those Crimes, with no Design to rectify Abuses, but to inflame Discontents.

To whom, Gentlemen, do we owe all our present Debts and Misfortunes? Even to those who oppos'd all the Measures for raising effectual Supplies in the first War, and ended the second by a scandalous Peace, which left us in Insecurity and Danger, and made more Taxes and more Debts necessary to our Security. To whom, as I have observ'd in a former Paper, do we owe standing Armies, such frequent Suspensions of the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, and so many consuming Pensions? Even to those, who by their constant Plots, Conspiracies, and Rebellions, have given Occasions, or Pretences, for these great Evils and Excesses. And now that they have brought all these Mischiefs, and many more upon us, and forced the Government upon Measures which perhaps would not have been thought of, and certainly would not have been complied with, they would impudently throw upon his Majesty the Burdens and Imputations, which they alone ought to bear, and impiously dethrone him, and undo their Country, for their own Crimes.

You are born, Gentlemen, to Liberty; and from it you derive all the Blessings you possess. Pray what Affection have these your Leaders

ever

ever ſhewn to the Cauſe of Liberty? It is plain they have never taken the ſacred Sound into their Mouths, but to profane it; nor pretended to cheriſh it, but in order to deſtroy it, and make it an unnatural Ladder to Tyranny. As often as Dominion has been in their own Hands, Liberty became a Crime, and a Sign of Sedition; and as often as they wanted to deſtroy Power, that is, as often as they were out of it, they proſtituted the Spirit of Liberty to the Service of Treaſon. Hence their late Cries for Liberty, to animate you againſt a Government that protected it, and under the Pretence of affecting Liberty, to introduce a Tyranny that would deſtroy Soul, Body, and Property. They could, however, have made no dangerous Progreſs in this Miſchief and Hypocriſy, if thoſe who have always profeſs'd, and whoſe Intereſt it would have been always to have ſupported and practis'd, free and beneficent Principles, had not deſerted thoſe Principles, and arm'd by that Deſertion the Enemies to all that is good and virtuous, with an Opportunity of turning Liberty upon her ſelf. Let the real Friends to the Government ſupport the Maxims upon which it ſtands, and upon which only it can ſtand, and they have nothing to fear from the well or ill-grounded Popularity of its Enemies.

Such, Gentlemen, are your Leaders, and ſuch are the Grievances which they cauſe and complain of; and to cure them, they would introduce the compleateſt and moſt comprehenſive of all, a total Overthrow of Church and

and State. They have reduced us to unhappy Circumstances; but let us not make them infinitely worse, and destroy our selves for Relief; let us not, like silly and peevish Children, throw away what we are in Possession of, to attain what is out of our Power, and which attain'd, would undo us: Let us put on Resolutions suitable to our present Condition. Let all honest Men join with the greatest Unanimity in all Measures to preserve his Majesty and our Establishment; and then we may rest assur'd, that his Majesty will do every Thing to preserve us. We may then ask with Confidence, and he will give with Pleasure. When the Kingdom is in this desirable Calm and Security, we shall not need so many Troops, nor will his Majesty desire them. We may lessen the publick Expences, pay off gradually the publick Debts, encrease the Trade, Wealth, and Power of the Nation, and be again a rich, easy, and flourishing People.

I cannot help perswading my self, that the Gentlemen at present in the Administration, who have observ'd and condemn'd so justly, the fatal and unsuccessful Measures taken by some of their Predecessors, the terrible Consequences that have flow'd from them, and the dreadful Advantages they gave to the common Enemies of his Majesty, of themselves, and of us all, are already convinced, that there is no Possibility of preserving our happy Establishment long, but by gaining and caressing People, making them easy and happy, letting them find their Account in his Majesty's

jesty's Reign, and giving no Handles for just Reproach, or Pretences for Contumely, to those who would make no other Use of them but to destroy us all.

I am, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE already address'd two of these Letters to the disaffected Clergy, and will in this apply my self to the disaffected Laity, their Followers.

I cannot help saying, Gentlemen, that it argues your great Lowness of Sense, and Depravity of Manners, to be thus blindly inflam'd by such forsworn Apostates, such lying and disaffected Monks, Men of such vile Morals: You see their unruly Spirit, their unhallowed Conduct, their daring and impious Perjuries; and yet will you be led by them into Wickedness as great, if possible, as their own, the Wickedness of unprovok'd Rebellion; and of overthrowing a Government, which, in Spite of their Malice and Lies, does really protect you in your Religion and Property; and of sacrificing a Protestant Church, that you think your selves fond of, to a Popish Pretender, who is bound by his Religion to destroy it?

And what is all this Noise about? For whose Sakes, think you, Gentlemen, all this Combustion

buſtion is made? Do you believe they are ſerving your Intereſts, or their own? Have they in any Inſtance, or any Age, ſhewn any Regard, any Concern for your Perſons, your Religion, or your Intereſts? If they pretend to have done ſo, they ſpeak as falſly as they ſwear. Remember all the Reigns ſince Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time; thoſe Reigns that oppreſſed you; and that Revolution that ſaved you. Did they not make it the whole Buſineſs of their Zeal, of their Addreſſes and their Preachments, to give up your Perſons, your Conſciences, and your Fortunes, to the Pleaſure and Luſt of the Prince, and damn'd you if you defended either? Did they not impiouſly make our Saviour the Author of their inhuman Nonſenſe, and Chriſtianity a Warrant of Indemnity for oppreſſing, robbing, chaining, and killing you? And did they not fill the Kingdom with Atheiſtical Volumes of Sermons, Books, and Addreſſes, and with Compliments and Curſes upon this vile Head? And have they ever ſince expreſly and publickly renounc'd theſe deſtroying Principles? When their own Intereſt is concern'd, no Principles can bind them, as we all ſee and know; but as to the Power of Princes over Laymen, over you, Gentlemen, have they not always aſſerted it to be boundleſs and diſcretionary, and always left you at the meer Mercy of Royal Luſt and Madneſs? 'Tis true, they will not now ſuffer you to bear a Prince whom Laws can bind; nor would they formerly ſuffer you to preſerve your

ſelves.

ſelves from Tyrants, which neither God, nor Man, nor the Good of Mankind, could bind.

As ſoon as the great Queen *Elizabeth* was dead, who was reſolv'd to be truly what ſhe was call'd, Head of the Church, and in order to be ſo, kept her Prieſts in a juſt and becoming Subordination, and would not ſuffer them to meddle with or prate about her Government, (for which to this Day you have never heard them ſpare to her Memory one good Word,) and a weak Prince ſucceeded her, many of the leading Clergy advanc'd all the vileſt Tenets of Popery: They declar'd that the Church of *Rome*, contrary to the expreſs Words of the Homilies, was a true Church, (which they might as juſtly have ſaid of the Church of Hell,) at the ſame time that they denounc'd Damnation againſt foreign and domeſtick Proteſtants for being no Churches at all: So much did they prefer their own notional Power of Ordination before the Precepts of our Saviour, and the Eſſentials of Religion. They perſuaded the King to appoint three Biſhops to reordain the *Scotch* Presbyters, which put that Kingdom in a Flame, as being in effect told, that they were in a State of Damnation before; and that their Miniſters had no lawful Call to ſerve God without Epiſcopal Dubbing. And ſo he had like to have loſt one of his Kingdoms, to gratify the Pride of a few crack-brain'd Eccleſiaſticks.

Then profeſs'd Papiſts and Popiſh Principles grew in Requeſt: Liberty of Conſcience was once given to them by Proclamation, and always conniv'd at and indulg'd, whilſt

Pro-

Protestant Dissenters, and the best Churchmen too, under the odious Name of *Puritans*, were every where revil'd and persecuted. Then your Parents first heard, in this Protestant Church, of the Power of the Keys, the Indelible Character, the Uninterrupted Succession, the Real Presence, the Giving the Holy Ghost, the Divine Right of Kings and Bishops; all tending to aggrandize the Clergy, and enslave the Laity: Then was invented that nonsensical Apothegm, *No Bishop, no King*; which his Majesty ecchoing several times upon Oath at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, the Archbishop declar'd, That doubtless his Majesty was inspir'd, and spoke by the special Assistance of God's Spirit. Then the Bishops thought it was their Time, with the Archbishop at their Head, to present a Memorial to the King, demanding an Exemption of their Courts from the Civil Jurisdiction, and the Ecclesiastical Power was every Day swelling, and carried to such a Pitch in the High-Commission-Court, as to draw the Parliament upon them. And to induce his Majesty to support them in their Nonsense and Roguery, they made him a Present of all your Persons, Lands, and Liberties. It became current Doctrine amongst the Prerogative Clergy, and Books were publish'd by some of them, and approv'd and applauded by the rest, to maintain that the King was *Solutus ex legibus*; that he need not call Parliaments, but might make Laws without them; and that it was a Favour to admit the Consent of his People in giving Subsidies.

This

This weak Prince left one as weak behind him, who having, as is said, been once destin'd to the Priesthood, and being a Bigot by Nature as well as Education, the Ecclesiasticks found in his Reign a proper Season, and a proper Soil to sow their Tares in, with a fair Prospect of a plentiful Harvest. Popery came into the Kingdom like a Torrent, and arbitrary Power appear'd undisguis'd, and in the most glaring Colours: The King, by positive Order to the Chancellor, forbids the Laws against Papists to be put in Execution; and, notwithstanding the constant Protestations of Parliaments, protects *Romish* Priests against legal Prosecutions: Popish Books were licens'd by *Laud*; and Protestant ones, which defended the Articles and the Opinions of the establish'd Church, were forbidden, suppress'd, and punish'd in the *Star-Chamber*. *Mountague*, who was impeach'd by Parliament for his Attempts to introduce Popery, was not only protected, but made Bishop of *Chichester*. *Laud* issu'd Injunctions, by his own Authority, for reforming the Church, and bringing it nearer to Popery: He had the Sauciness to declare publickly, That he hop'd to see the Time when no Jack Gentleman should dare to keep on his Hat before the meanest Curate. The Bishops disclaim'd all Jurisdiction from the Crown in *Bastwick's* Tryal, and the Independance of the Church upon the State was openly asserted. Then came in the Altar, and the unbloody Sacrifice upon it, and the antick and popish Consecration of Churches and Church-Yards, with many other Monkish Fool-

Fooleries, to draw us to a nearer Conformity with *Rome*.

And as Prieſtcraft and Tyranny are ever inſeparable, and go hand-in-hand, infinite other Oppreſſions were brought upon the poor People, and proved by the Prieſts to be *Jure Divino*, as, unlawful Impriſonments, various Monopolies, extorted Loans, numerous Taxes; all levied without Authority of Parliament. *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, two of *Laud's* Creatures, were ſet on to preach, that the King was not bound by the Laws of the Land; and that the King's Royal Will, in impoſing Loans and Taxes, did oblige the Subject's Conſcience on Pain of Damnation: And his Majeſty ſent a ſpecial Mandate to Archbiſhop *Abbot*, to licence thoſe Sermons; and he was ſuſpended for not doing it. And then it ſeems it was lawful to ſuſpend the greateſt Clergyman, and firſt Subject of *England*, for doing his Duty and preſerving the Laws; and now it is a ſacrilegious Uſurpation of the Divine Rights of the Clergy, to deprive a Biſhop for the moſt traiterous Conſpiracy againſt his King, his Country, and the Religion he himſelf profeſſes. To make good all theſe Invaſions upon publick Liberty, a *German* Army was contracted for; and ſome Time after, an *Iriſh* and *Popiſh* one was actually rais'd by *Strafford* in *Ireland*.

During theſe Reigns, all the High Clergy were the profeſs'd Trumpets, the Setting-Dogs, and ſpiritual Janizaries of Governments, which us'd you like Cattle, and ſtarved you, or ſlew you for Profit and Sport. They made

made you conspire against your selves, by alarming your Consciences, and filling them with blind and unnatural Resignation to all the Excesses of Cruelty, Plunder, Oppression, Killing, Servitude, and every Species of inhuman Barbarity; but now that you are protected and secure in standing Laws, which the Administration has never pretended to dispense with; when you have the full Enjoyment of your Consciences, which the Government in no Instance restrains; when you are secure in your Estates and Property, which the Government does not touch, nor pretends any Right to touch; when you have as much Liberty as Mankind can under any Government possess, a Liberty which goes to the very Borders of Licentiousness: I say, under all these Blessings, Blessings unknown almost to all Men, but *English* Men; will these implacable and steady Impostors let you alone? Are not their spiritual Goads continually in your Sides, stimulating you to renounce your Understanding, your Freedom, your Safety, your Religion, your Honesty, your Conscience; and to destroy the Source of all your Happiness and Enjoyments, religious and secular; and to exchange a free Government, and every Thing that is valuable upon Earth, for the Cruelty, Madness, Chains, Misery, and Deformity of Popery, and of Popish Tyranny?

Look back, Gentlemen, once more, to later Reigns: What Testimony did they bear against the bare-faced Encouragement of Popery, and the Persecution of Protestants in

Charles

Charles II's Reign; againſt his fatal Treaties and Leagues with *France*; his unjuſt Wars with the United Provinces, and his treacherous Seizure of their *Smyrna* Fleet, to deſtroy the only State in the World that could be then call'd the Bullwark of Liberty and the Proteſtant Religion? What did they ſay againſt the terrible Exceſſes, the arbitrary Impriſonments, the legal Murders, and Violation of Property, during his Reign? Did they not encourage and ſanctify all the Invaſions and Encroachments of the Court, and curſed all who oppos'd them, or complained of them? Can they have the Forehead to complain of Armies, of Taxes, or any ſort of Oppreſſion, (however juſt ſuch Complains may be in others,) they who have never ſhewn themſelves for any Government, but what ſubſiſted by Armies and Oppreſſion? They have been always mortal Foes to popular Liberty, which thwarts and fruſtrates all their aſpiring inſatiable Views; and in every favourite Reign preach'd it as impiouſly down, as they preached up every growing and heavy Oppreſſion.

Nor did they ever quarrel with King *James*, but conſecrate all his Uſurpations, his Armies, and diſpenſing Power, till he gave Liberty of Conſcience to Diſſenters, and till ſome of their own ill-contriv'd Oppreſſions were brought Home to their own Doors; and then they curſed their King, and help'd to ſend him a begging. They reſiſted him, and upon their Principles were Rebels to him, and animated others to be ſo, and have been damning you and the Nation for that Reſiſtance

ever

ever since? Which is a full Confession, That when a Popish Tyrant plunders and oppresses you, you neither can or ought to have any Remedy; but if he touches but a Tythe-Pig or Surplice of theirs, their Heel is ready to be lifted up against him, and their Hands to throw the Crown from his Head, and to put it upon another, with fresh Oaths of Allegiance and Obedience; and to pull it off again in spite of those Oaths, or without any Forfeiture, or any just Provocation. Is not this infamous Conduct of theirs manifest to Sight? Does it not stare you and every *Briton* in the Face? And yet will you be implicitly led by such Traytors to God, to Truth, and to you?

How did they behave towards King *William*, whom they themselves invited over? As soon as he gave Liberty of Conscience to Protestant Dissenters, and he let them see that he would not be a blind Tool to a priestly Faction, but would equally protect all his Subjects who were faithful to him, and had set himself at the Head of the Protestant Interest, and every Year hazarded his Person in dangerous Battles and Sieges for the Liberty of *England* and of *Europe*, against the most dreadful Scourge and Oppressor of Mankind that ever plagued the Earth; they were perpetually preaching and haranging, always calumniating, reviling, distressing, and plotting against him, and endeavouring to render all his Measures, all his generous Attempts for their own Security, abortive and ineffectual.

tual. Nor did they uſe the late Queen, their own favourite Queen, or even thoſe of their own Party, who ſerved her faithfully, one Jot better, till ſhe fell into the Hands of a few deſperate Traytors to herſelf and them? who gave away all the Advantages of a long, expenſive, and ſucceſsful War; put *France* into a Condition to again enſlave *Europe*, and to place a Popiſh Traytor, and an attainted Fugitive upon the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, (which he had undoubtedly done, if unforeſeen Accidents had not prevented it). And then what Encomiums, what Panegyricks, what fulſome and blaſphemous Flattery, did they beſtow upon her Perſon and Actions, and have done ſo ever ſince?

Is not this, Gentlemen, uſing you like Slaves, and worſe than Spaniels, making you the tame Vaſſals of Tyrants, and reſtleſs Rebels to lawful Governors? Is not this uſing you like inſenſible Inſtruments, void of Reaſon, and of Conſcience, of Prudence, and of Property? Is this Teaching! this the Price of their Revenues and Eaſe! this the Function of Miniſters! or can human Invention, animated and aided by human Malice, draw the Character of more unlimited, mercileſs, and outrageous Enemies?

I am, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

AS I have in my laſt and former Papers given you ſome faint Images of the Hypocriſy, Pride, Tyranny, Perjury, Atheiſm, and reſtleſs Ambition of the Jacobite and Diſaffected Clergy, who conſtantly miſlead you, and conſtantly abuſe you; ſo I ſhall in this inform you what are their Views, what is the Butt and Mark, to which they direct all their Actions; what the Idol to which they ſacrifice their Honour, their Conſcience, their Religion, and their God. It is, Gentlemen, to their Ambition and Pride: It is to get you into their Power; to have the Diſpoſal of your Perſons, your Opinions, and your Eſtates; and to make you ignorant, poor, miſerable and ſlaviſh, whilſt they riot upon your Fortunes, and prey upon your Induſtry. They look abroad with envious and wiſhing Eyes at the Revenues, Grandeur, and Power of the *Romiſh* Clergy; and remember with Regret, how they loſt all thoſe fine Things at the Reformation; and they have never loſt Sight of them ſince, but have been conſtantly involving you in Factions, in Miſery, and often in Blood, to recover them again.

Popery is the moſt dreadful Machine, the utmoſt Stretch of human Politicks, that ever was invented amongſt Men to aggrandize and

and enrich the Clergy, and to oppreſs and enſlave the Laity. All its Doctrines, all its Views, all its Artifices, are calculated for the ſole Advantage of the Prieſts, and the Deſtruction of the People, at the Expence of Virtue, good Government, common Senſe, and the Goſpel. It is an open Conſpiracy of the Eccleſiaſticks, againſt all the reſt of Mankind, to rob them of their Eſtates, of their Conſciences, and their Senſes; and to make them the Dupes and tame Vaſſals of ſwacy and ambitious Pedants. Look, Gentlemen, into their Doctrines and their Practices, and ſee whether you can find the leaſt Appearance of Honour, Morality, common Honeſty, or Religion in them, or any thing but Pride, Hypocriſy, Fraud, Tyranny, and Domination. What do they mean by the Power of the Keys, of Binding and Looſing, of Excommunication, of their being Mediators and Interceſſors between God and you, by their pardoning Sins, and their having the ſole Power of giving the Sacraments, which they tell you are neceſſary to Salvation, and their Doctrines about Purgatory, but to perſuade you, if you are fooliſh enough to believe them, that your future Happineſs and Miſery depend upon them? And then they well know that you will give the moſt you have in this World, to be ſecure in the next.

What do they intend by telling you that Biſhops are *Jure Divino*, by the Power of Ordination; and that they can alone make one another; the indeliable Character; their uninterrupted Succeſſion from the Apoſtles; by their

their being able to give the Holy Ghoſt, and having it themſelves; but to create Reverence to their Perſons, Submiſſion to their Authority, and to render themſelves independent on the Civil Government? And then they know the Civil Government will be dependent on them. What Purpoſes does it ſerve, to make you believe that Tythes (which they hold by Laws of your making) are *Jure Divino*; that it is Sacrilege to reſume Lands or Donations, once given to the Clergy; and that they can never afterwards be alienated; but conſtantly to encreaſe their Riches, and conſequently their Power, and Dependance, till by the natural Courſe of Things they come to be poſſeſs'd of all? What do they mean by their Holy Water, their Extreme Unction, their Exorciſms, their Conſecration of Churches and Church-Yards, and their abſurd Notion of Tranſubſtantiation, but to gain Adoration to the prieſtly Character, as if he was able by a few canting Words to change the Nature of Things, bleſs dead Earth and Walls, and make a God out of Meal? Why ſo many Monaſteries and Nunneries, ſo many religious Orders of Men and Women, ſo many Fraternities, Colleges, and Societies of different Kinds, but to engage great Numbers of young People and potent Families in their Intereſt? Why ſo many antick Garbs, ſo many rich Veſtments, ſo many gaudy Shrines, ſo many deck'd Images uſed in their Worſhip, and ſo much pompous Devotion? Why Organs and ſo much Muſick, ſo many Singing-Men and Singing-Boys, but to attract the Eyes and

Ears, and to amuse the Understandings of the gaping Herd, and to make them forget their Senses, and the plain natural Religion of the Gospel, and to engage Men and Ladies of Pleasure in the Interests of so agreeable a Devotion?

How comes it to be a Part of Religion, not to confess our Sins to God, but to the Priest? It lets him into all the Secrets of Families, the Power of imposing what severe Penances he pleases upon superstitious Penitents, and of commuting for those Penances; acquaints him with all Designs to the Disadvantage of his Order; gives him Opportunities of debauching Women himself, and procuring them for others; and holds them devoted to his Will, by the Knowledge of their most important Concerns. And lastly, what do they mean by the terrible Engine of the Inquisition, and by their hellish Doctrine of Persecution for Opinions; but to keep all Men in Awe of them, and to terrify those whom they cannot deceive? These are the favourite Doctrines of Popery! These the Doctrines they are concerned for! If you are rich, or powerful, you may be as wicked as you please, and no Body shall molest you; nay, the Priests shall be ready to assist you, to pimp for you, and to pardon you. The same is true of the speculative Opinions held by that Church, that do not affect their Power and Pride: They suffer their Orders to differ about them, and do not trouble themselves what the People believe concerning them; nor are any of the People at all concerned in them. The

absurd

absurd Notions and ridiculous Worship of the Papists are only foolish Things; but the Power of Popery is a terrible Thing. If a Man adores rotten Bones, and uses antick Gestures towards them, he makes a Fool of himself, but hurts not me; but if he would rob me, torture me, or burn me, for not playing the Fool too, it is Time to keep him at a Distance, or to hold his Hands. It is the Power of Popery, the cruel, the insatiable, the killing Spirit of Popery, that is to be dreaded. This, Gentlemen, is the Power, this the terrible Condition that many of your Protestant Instructors would bring you under, and which you are to guard against.

These wicked Doctrines, these absurd Opinions, were all abolish'd, all renounc'd by the first Reformers, but were kept alive by the corrupt Part of the Clergy, and have been growing upon you ever since: They have been conniv'd at by some, openly asserted by others, and, I wish I could say, as openly discountenanc'd by the rest. It would fill a Volume, instead of a Paper, to enumerate all the Clergymen, in the highest Repute amongst their own Order, who have abetted most, if not all of these monstrous Opinions; and I have heard as yet of none of them who have been censur'd by any publick Act of their Body. I do confess, many of the Corrupt amongst them have renounc'd the Pope's Authority, as believing they might find fairer Quarter from a King they educated, and hop'd to govern, than from a foreign Prelate, and his needy Priests, who would plunder

them, oppreſs them, and give away their Revenues to his Creatures, and to lazy Monks and Fryars; and they hoped too, ſome favourable Opportunities might happen to get away the Regale from the Crown; and we never had a Prince whom they could intirely govern, or who would not be govern'd at all by them, but they have laid Claim to it, and attempted it. But what ſtood always in their Way, and made all theſe Deſigns impracticable, was the Power of Parliament, and the Liberties of the People, who preſerv'd the Prerogative of the Crown to preſerve themſelves; and therefore they levell'd all their Batteries againſt publick Liberty, and to make the Prince abſolute, as finding it much eaſier to flatter, miſlead, or bargain with one Man, (and often a weak one,) than to deceive a whole People, and make them conſpire againſt themſelves; and if Perſuaſion, Bigottry, and Fear, would not make him practicable to their Deſigns, they knew that Poiſon and the Dagger were at Hand.

But now two hundred Years Experience has convinc'd them, that the People will not ſuffer the Crown to part with the Regale, nor would they themſelves part with their Liberty; and till they do ſo, there is no Poſſibility of ſettling a pompous Hierachy, and gaining the Domination they aſpire to; and therefore they are reduc'd to accept barefac'd Popery, and throw themſelves under the Protection of the Holy Father: And that is the Game they are now playing. What elſe, Gentlemen, can they propoſe by a Popiſh

piſh Revolution, but to ſhare in the Power and Tyranny that attends it? They have not ſufficient Stipends for the daily Miſchiefs they do: They want greater Revenues, and an Eccleſiaſtical Inquiſition. Now, at whoſe Expence think you muſt this Accumulation of Wealth which they thirſt for be acquir'd? How muſt this *Babel* of Authority which they pant after be rais'd? Not at the Expence of the Pretender, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they muſt gain them: No, Gentlemen, from your Coffers theſe Riches muſt be drain'd: Over you this Tyranny muſt be exercis'd: The utter Extinction of your Liberties muſt conſtitute their Grandeur: The final Seizure of your Lands and Properties muſt ſupport their Domination: You muſt be the poor haraſs'd Slaves of a monſtrous two-headed Tyranny, and be conſtantly and inhumanly cruſh'd between the upper and the nether Milſtone of the Regale and Pontificate, and, in any Diſpute betwixt them, be given to *Satan* on one Side, and to the Executioner on both.

Many of you are in Poſſeſſion of Impropriations, and of Abbey-Lands, and are protected by the Conſtitution in thoſe Poſſeſſions, which theſe reverend Cheats would rob you of; and only want an arbitrary and a Popiſh Government to enable them to commit that Robbery, to ſtrip you to the Skin, and to reduce the *Engliſh* Laity to be once more humble Cottagers and Vaſſals to the Monks, Fryars, and other Eccleſiaſtical Gluttons, to whom the whole Riches of a great Nation will be no more than ſufficient Wages for

cheating and oppreſſing it. I bring you, Gentlemen, no falſe Charge againſt the Jacobite Clergy: Do they not claim your Eſtates publickly from the Preſs and the Pulpit; and from the Pulpit and the Preſs charge you with Sacrilege, and damn you for keeping them? Yes, Gentlemen, theſe reverend and ſelf-denying Teachers damn you for keeping your own legal Poſſeſſions, and for eating your own Bread. Now I would leave you to reaſon upon this Conduct of theirs, to conſider how nearly it affects you, and whether it tends, and what Sort of Proteſtants theſe Doctors are. If the Publick takes nothing from them which they occupied ſince the Reformation, why ſhould they deſtroy the Government, but in hopes of deſtroying the Reformation, to get Poſſeſſion of Popiſh Lands, and Popiſh Power; which, while the Reformation and the Government ſubſiſt, they can never poſſeſs.

That this, Gentlemen, is what they aim at, 'tis impoſſible to doubt. *Leſley*, long their Favourite and Director, who knew their Inclinations, knew their Views, and the beſt Way to apply to them, and to gain them, in his Letter to the Clergy, (as I think it was,) which was to uſher in the Rebellion at the Beginning of his Majeſty's Reign, promiſes them an Independance upon the Crown, and that they ſhould chuſe their own Biſhops. It is Dominion, it is Power, they court; it is themſelves they adore: When have they conſider'd you, or your Intereſts, when they thought they could make a Bargain for themſelves? When King *James* apply'd to the Biſhops upon

upon his Fears of an Invasion from your great Deliverer, and desired them to propose the Nation's Grievances, what Grievances did they represent but their own trifling Complaints? They said nothing of Standing-Armies, how much soever they complain of them now. Who are their Favourites? Even Papists and Nonjurors, known Rebels, or Men of rebellious Principles, the most ambitious and wicked amongst the Clergy, and the most debauch'd and stupid amongst the Laity. What Sermons have they preach'd, what Books have they wrote, against Popery, though their Flocks are every Day decreasing? What Exhortations against Popish Principles, which are constantly growing upon us? Whom do they treat as their avow'd Enemies, but the Friends to the Revolution, the most steddy Friends to the Establishment they have sworn to, the Protestant Dissenters, and such of their own Body as regard their Oaths, and the Principles of the Reformation? What have you gained by all the Favours lately shewn to them? Which of them have been oblig'd by these Concessions? You have given them the First Fruits: You have in effect repeal'd the Statute of *Mortmain*: You have given them a shorter Method to recover their Tithes: You have encreas'd their Number and Riches by building more Churches: You have sate still, whilst they have been destroying the *Modus's* through *England*, buying up your Advowsons, and extorting upon their Tenants, and making those Estates more precarious, which were always before esteem'd

as certain Intereſts as any in *Great Britain:* Has all this oblig'd them? Has it taught them Moderation? On the contrary, it encreaſes their Demands upon you. Be aſſur'd, they will never be ſatisfy'd, never think they have enough whilſt you have a Penny left; and when they have got all your Lands, they muſt ride and enſlave your Perſons.

Will you bear, Gentlemen, ſuch conſtant and impudent Inſults? Will you ſtill be govern'd by ſuch abandon'd Deceivers? Are you Men, free Men, rational Men, and will you bear this wild and prieſtly War againſt human Nature, againſt Freedom, and againſt Reaſon? Will you indeed believe them, when they pretend any Regard to you and your Intereſt? And is it upon your Score that they practice Perjury and Rebellion themſelves, and promote it in others?

I am, &c.

SIR,

WHEN, in King *William*'s Reign, the Queſtion was in Debate, Whether *England* ſhould be rul'd by Standing Armies? the Argument commonly us'd by ſome who had the Preſumption to call themſelves Whigs, and own'd in the *Ballancing Letter*, (ſuppos'd to be written by one who gave the World to all the reſt) was, That all Governments muſt

must have their Periods one Time or other, and when that Time came, all Endeavours to preserve Liberty were fruitless; and shrewd Hints were given in that Letter, that *England* was reduced to such a Condition; that our Corruptions were so great, and the Dissatisfaction of the People was so general, that the publick Safety could not be preserved, but by encreasing the Power of the Crown: And this Argument was us'd by those shameless Men, who had caus'd all that Corruption, and all that Dissatisfaction.

But that Gentleman and his Followers were soon taught to speak other Language: They were remov'd from the Capacity of perplexing publick Affairs any more: The Nation shew'd a Spirit that would not submit to Slavery; and their unhappy and betray'd Master, from being the most popular Prince who ever sat upon the *English* Throne, became, through the Treachery of his Servants, suspected by many of his best Subjects, and was render'd unable, by their Jealousies, to defend himself and them; and so considerable a Faction was form'd against his Administration, that no good Man can reflect without Concern and Horror, on the Difficulties which that Great and Good King was reduced to grapple with, during the Remainder of his troublesome Reign.

I have lately met with some Creatures and Tools of Power, who speak the same Language now: They tell us, that Matters are come to that Pass, that we must either receive the Pretender, or keep him out with Bribes

and Standing Armies: That the Nation is so corrupt, that there is no governing it by any other Means: And, in short, that we must submit to this great Evil, to prevent a greater; as if any Mischief could be more terrible than the highest and most terrible of all Mischiefs, universal Corruption, and a military Government. It is indeed impossible for the Subtilty of Traitors, the Malice of Devils, or for the Cunning and Cruelty of our most implacable Enemies, to suggest stronger Motives for the undermining and Overthrow of our excellent Establishment, which is built upon the Destruction of Tyranny, and can stand upon no other Bottom. It is Madness in Extremity, to hope that a Government founded upon Liberty, and the free Choice of the Asserters of it, can be supported by other Principles; and whoever would maintain it by contrary ones, intends to blow it up, let him alledge what he will. This gives me every Day new Reasons to believe what I have long suspected; for if ever a Question should arise, Whether a Nation shall submit to certain Ruin, or struggle for a Remedy? these Gentlemen well know which Side they will chuse, and certainly intend that which they must chuse.

I am willing to think, that these impotent Babblers speak not the Sense of their Superiors, but would make servile Court to them from Topicks which they abhor. Their Superiors must know, that it is Raving and Phrenzy to affirm, that a free People can be long govern'd by impotent Terrors; that Millions

lions will consent to be ruin'd by the Corruptions of a few; or that those few will join in their Ruin any longer than the Corruption lasts: That every Day new and greater Demands will rise upon the Corruptors; that no Revenue, how great soever, will feed the Voraciousness of the Corrupted; and that every Disappointment will make them turn upon the Oppressors of their Country, and fall into its true Interest and their own: That there is no Way in Nature to preserve a Revolution in Government, but by making the People easy under it, and shewing them their Interest in it; and that Corruption, Bribery, and Terrors, will make no lasting Friends, but infinite and implacable Enemies; and that the best Security of a Prince amongst a free People, is the Affections of his People, which he can always gain by making their Interest his own, and by shewing that all his Views tend to their Good. They will then, as they love themselves, love him, and defend him who defends them. Upon this faithful Basis, his Safety will be better establish'd, than upon the ambitious and variable Leaders of a few Legions, who may be corrupted, disoblig'd, or surpriz'd, and often have been so; and hence great Revolutions have been brought about, and great Nations undone, only by the Revolt of single Regiments.

Shew a Nation their Interest, and they will certainly fall into it: A whole People can have no Ambition but to be govern'd justly; and when they are so, the Intrigues and

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Diſſatisfactions of Particulars will fall upon their own Heads. What has any of our former Courts ever got by Corruption, but to diſaffect the People, and weaken themſelves? Let us now think of other Methods, if it is only for the Sake of the Experiment. The Ways of Corruption have been tried long enough in paſt Adminiſtrations: Let us try in this what publick Honeſty will do; and not condemn it, before we have fully prov'd it, and found it ineffectual; and it will be Time enough to try other Methods, when this fails.

That we muſt either receive the Pretender, or keep up great Armies to keep him out, is frightful and unnatural Language to *Engliſh* Ears: It is an odd Way of dealing with us, that of offering us, or forcing upon us, an Alternative, where the Side which they would recommend, is full as formidable as the Side from which they would terrify us. If we are to be govern'd by Armies, it is all one to us, whether they be Proteſtant or Popiſh Armies; the Diſtinction is ridiculous, like that between a good and a bad Tyranny: We ſee, in Effect, that it is the Power and Arms of a Country, that forms and directs the Religion of a Country; and I have before ſhewn, that true Religion cannot ſubſiſt, where true Liberty does not. It was chiefly, if not wholly King *James's* uſurp'd Power, and his many Forces, and not his being a Papiſt, that render'd him dreadful to his People. Military Governments are all alike; nor does the Liberty and Property

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of the Subject fare a bit the better or the worse, for the Faith and Opinion of the Soldiery. Nor does an Arbitrary Protestant Prince use his People better than an Arbitrary Popish Prince; and we have seen both Sorts of them changing the Religion of their Country, according to their Lust.

They are therefore stupid Politicians, who would derive Advantages from a Distinction which is manifestly without a Difference: It is like, however, that they may improve in their Subtilties, and come, in time, to distinguish between corrupt Corruption, and uncorrupt Corruption, between a good ill Administration, and an ill good Administration, between oppressive Oppression, and unoppressive Oppression, and between *French* Dragooning and *English* Dragooning; for there is scarce any other new Pitch of Nonsense and Contradiction left to such Men in their Reasonings upon Publick Affairs, and in the Part they act in them.

Of a Piece with the rest, is the stupid Cunning of some Sort of Statesmen, and practis'd by most Foreign Courts, to blame the poor People for the Misery they bring upon them. They say they are extremely corrupt, and so keep them starving and enslav'd by Way of Protection. They corrupt them by all manner of Ways and Inventions, and then reproach them for being corrupt. A whole Nation cannot be bribed, and if its Representatives are, it is not the Fault, but the Misfortune, of the Nation: And if the Corrupt save themselves by corrupting others,

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the People who ſuffer by the Corruptions of both, are to be pitied, and not abus'd. Nothing can be more ſhameleſs and provoking, than to bring a Nation by execrable Frauds and Extortions, againſt its daily Proteſtations and Remonſtrances, into a miſerable paſs, and then father all thoſe Villanies upon the People who would have gladly hang'd the Authors of them. At *Rome*, the whole People could be entertain'd, feaſted, and bribed; but it is not ſo elſewhere, where the People are too numerous, and too far ſpread, to be debauch'd, cajol'd, and purchas'd; and if any of their Leaders are, it is without the People's Conſent.

There is ſcarce ſuch a Thing under the Sun as a corrupt People, where the Government is uncorrupt: It is that, and that alone, which makes them ſo; and to calumniate them for what they do not ſeek, but ſuffer by, is as great Impudence as it would be, to knock a Man down, and then rail at him for hurting himſelf. In what Inſtances do the People of any Country in the World throw away their Money by Millions, unleſs by truſting it to thoſe who do ſo? Where do the People ſend great Fleets, at a great Charge, to be frozen up in one Climate, or to be eaten out by Worms in another, unleſs for their Trade and Advantage? Where do the People enter into mad Wars againſt their Intereſt, or, after victorious ones, make Peace, without ſtipulating for one new Advantage for themſelves; but, on the contrary, pay the Enemy for having beaten them? Where

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do the People plant Colonies or purchase Provinces, at a vast Expence, without reaping, or expecting to reap, one Farthing from them, and yet still defend them at a further Expence? Where do the People make distracted Bargains, to get imaginary Millions, and after having lost by such Bargains almost all the real Millions they had, yet give more Millions to get rid of them? What wise or dutiful People consents to be without the Influence of the Presence of their Prince, and of his Vertues, or of those of his Family, who are to come after him? No, —— these Things are never done by any People; but wherever they are done, they are done without their Consent; and yet all these Things have been done in former Ages, and in neighbouring Kingdoms.

For such guilty and corrupt Men, therefore, to charge the People with Corruption, whom either they have corrupted, or cannot corrupt, and, having brought great Misery upon them, to threaten them with more; is, in effect, to tell them plainly, "Gentlemen, "we have us'd you very ill, for which you "who are innocent of it, are to blame; "we therefore find it necessary, for your "Good, to use you no better, or rather "worse: And if you will not accept of "this our Kindness, which, however, we will "force upon you, if we can, we will give "you up into the terrible Hands of raw Head "and bloody Bones; who, being your Enemy, "may do you as much Mischief as we, "who are your Friends, have done you."

I appeal to common Sense, Whether this be not the Sum of such Threats and Reasonings in their native Colours.

The Partizans of *Oliver Cromwell*, when he was meditating Tyranny over the Three Nations, gave out, that it was the only Expedient to ballance Factions, and to keep out *Charles Stuart*; and so they did worse Things to keep him out, than he could have done if they had let him in. And, after that King's Restoration, when there was an Attempt made to make him absolute, by enabling him to raise Money without Parliament, (an Attempt which every Courtier, except Lord *Clarendon*, came into) it was alledg'd to be the only Expedient to keep the Nation from falling back into a Commonwealth; as if any Commonwealth upon Earth was not better than any Absolute Monarchy. His Courtiers foresaw, that by their mad and extravagant Measures, they should make the Nation mad, and were willing to save themselves by the final Destruction of the Nation; they therefore employ'd their Creatures to whisper abroad stupid and villanous Reasons, why People should be content to be finally undone, lest something not near so bad, should befall them.

Those who have, by abusing a Nation, forfeited its Affections, will never be for trusting a People, who, they know, do justly detest them; but having procur'd their Aversion and Enmity, will be for fortifying themselves against it by all proper Ways; and the Ways of Corruption, Depredation and Force, being

being the only proper ones, they will not fail to be practis'd; and those who practice them, when they can no longer deny them, will be finding Reasons to justify them; and, because they dare not avow the true Reasons, they must find such false ones as are most likely to amuse and terrify: And hence so much Nonsense and Improbability utter'd in that Reign, and sometimes since, to vindicate guilty Men, and vilify an innocent People, who were so extravagantly fond of that Prince, that their Liberties were almost gone, before they would believe them in Danger.

It is as certain, that King *James* II. wanted no Army to help him to preserve the Constitution, nor to reconcile the People to their own Interest: But, as he intended to invade and destroy both, nothing but Corruption and a Standing Army could enable him to do it; and (thank God) even his Army fail'd him, when he brought in *Irish* Troops to help them. This therefore was his true Design; but his Pretences were very different: He Pleaded the Necessity of his Affairs, nay, of Publick Affairs, and of keeping up a good Standing Force to Preserve his Kingdoms, forsooth, from Insults at home and from abroad. This was the Bait; but his People, who had no longer any Faith in him, and to whom the Hook appear'd threatning and bare, would not believe him, nor swallow it; and if they were jealous of him, restless under him, and ready to rise against him, he gave them sufficient Cause. He was under no Hardship nor Necef-

Neceſſity but what he created to himſelf, nor did his People withdraw their Affections from him, till he had withdrawn his Right to thoſe Affections. Thoſe who have us'd you ill, will never forgive you; and it is no new Thing wantonly to make an Enemy, and then to calumniate and deſtroy him for being ſo.

When People, through continual ill Uſage, grow weary of their preſent ill Condition, they will be ſo far from being frighten'd with a Change, that they will wiſh for one; and inſtead of terrifying them, by threatning them with one, you do but pleaſe them, even in Inſtances where they have no Reaſon to be pleas'd. Make them happy, and they will dread any Change; but while they are ill us'd, they will not fear the worſt. The Authors of publick Miſery and Plunder, may ſeek their only Safety in general Deſolation; but, to the People, nothing can be worſe than Ruin, from what Hand ſoever it comes: A Proteſtant Musket kills as ſure as a Popiſh one; and an Oppreſſor is an Oppreſſor, to whatever Church he belongs: The Sword and the Gun are of every Church, and ſo are the Inſtruments of Oppreſſion. The late Directors were all ſtanch Proteſtants; and *Cromwell* had a violent Averſion to Popery.

We are, doubtleſs, under great Neceſſities in our preſent Circumſtances; but to increaſe them, in order to cure them, would be a prepoſterous Remedy, worthy only of them who brought them upon us; and who, if they had common Shame in them, would conceal, as far as they could, under Silence,

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the heavy Evils, which, tho' they lie upon every Man's Shoulders, yet lie only at the Doors of a few. The Plea of Neceſſity, if it can be taken, will juſtify any Miſchief, and the worſt Miſchiefs. Private Neceſſity makes Men Thieves and Robbers; but publick Neceſſity requires that Robbers of all Sizes ſhould be hang'd. Publick Neceſſity therefore, and the Neceſſity of ſuch pedant Politicians, are different and oppoſite Things. There is no Doubt, but Men guilty of great Crimes, would be glad of an enormous Power to protect them in the greateſt; and then tell us there is a Neceſſity for it. Thoſe againſt whom Juſtice is arm'd, will ever talk thus, and ever think it neceſſary to diſarm her. But whatever ſincere Services they may mean to themſelves by it, they can mean none to his Majeſty, who would be undone with his Subjects, by ſuch treacherous and ruinous Services: And therefore it is fit that Mankind ſhould know, and they themſelves ſhould know, that his Majeſty can and will be defended againſt them and their Pretender, without Standing Armies, which would make him formidable only to his People, and contemptible to his Foes, who take juſtly the Meaſure of his Power from his Credit with his Subjects.

But I ſhall conſider what preſent Occaſion there is of keeping up more Troops than the uſual Guards and Garriſons, and ſhall a little further animadvert upon the Arts and frivolous Pretences made Uſe of, in former Reigns, to reduce this Government to the Condition

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and Model of the pretended *Jure-Divino*-Monarchies, where Millions must be miserable and undone, to make one and a few of his Creatures lawless, rampant, and unsafe.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IT is certain, that Liberty is never so much in danger, as upon a Deliverance from Slavery. The remaining Dread of the Mischiefs escaped, generally drives or decoys Men into the same or greater; for then the Passions and Expectations of some run high, and the Fears of others make them submit to any Misfortunes, to avoid an Evil that is over; and both Sorts concur in giving to a Deliverer, all that they are delivered from: In the Transports of a Restoration, or Victory, or upon a Plot discover'd, or a Rebellion quell'd, nothing is thought too much for the Benefactor, nor any Power too great to be left to his Discretion, tho' there can never be less Reason for giving it to him than at those Times; because, for the most part, the Danger is past, his Enemies are defeated and intimidated, and consequently that is a proper Juncture for the People to settle themselves, and secure their Liberties, since no one is likely to disturb them in doing so.

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However, I confeſs, that Cuſtom, from Time immemorial, is againſt me, and the ſame Cuſtom has made moſt of Mankind Slaves: *Agathocles* ſaved the *Syracuſians*, and afterwards deſtroyed them. *Piſiſtratus* pretending to be wounded for protecting the People, prevail'd with them to allow him a Guard for the Defence of his Perſon, and by the Help of that Guard uſurp'd the Sovereignty: *Cæſar* and *Marius* deliver'd the Commons of *Rome*, from the Tyranny of the Nobles, and made themſelves Maſters of both Commons and Nobles: *Sylla* deliver'd the Senate from the Inſolence of the People, and did them more Miſchief than the Rabble could have done in a Thouſand Years: *Guſtavus Ericſon* delivered the *Swedes* from the Oppreſſion of the *Danes*, and made large Steps towards enſlaving them himſelf: The *Antwerpians* call'd in the Duke of *Allencon*, to defend them againſt the *Spaniards*; but he was no ſooner got, as he thought, in full Poſſeſſion of their Town, but he fell upon them himſelf with the Forces which he brought for their Defence. But the Townſmen happen'd to be too many for him, and drove theſe their new Protectors home again: Which Diſappointment, and juſt Diſgrace, broke that good Duke's Heart. *Oliver Cromwell* headed an Army which pretended to fight for Liberty, and by that Army became a bloody Tyrant; as I once ſaw a Hawk very generouſly reſcue a Turtle Dove from the Perſecution of two Crows, and then eat him up himſelf.

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Almoſt all Men deſire Power, and few loſe any Opportunity to get it, and all who are like to ſuffer under it, ought to be ſtrictly upon their Guard in ſuch Conjunctures as are moſt likely to encreaſe, and make it uncontroulable. There are but two Ways in Nature to enſlave a People, and continue that Slavery over them; the firſt is Superſtition, and the laſt is Force: By the one, we are perſwaded that it is our Duty to be undone; and the other undoes us whether we will or no. I take it, that we are pretty much out of Danger of the firſt, at preſent; and, I think, we cannot be too much upon our guard againſt the other; for, though we have nothing to fear from the beſt Prince in the World, yet we have every thing to fear from thoſe who would give him a Power inconſiſtent with Liberty, and with a Conſtitution which has laſted almoſt a Thouſand Years without ſuch a Power, which will never be ask'd with an Intention to make no Uſe of it.

The Nation was ſo mad, upon the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. that they gave to him all that he ask'd, and more than he ask'd: They complemented him with a vaſt Revenue for Life, and almoſt with our Liberties and Religion too; and if unforeſeen Accidents had not happen'd to prevent it, without doubt we had loſt both; and if his Succeſſor could have had a little Patience, and had uſed no Rogues but his old Rogues, he might have accompliſhed the Buſineſs, and Popery and Arbitrary Power had been *Jure Divino* at this Day; but he made too much haſte to be

at the End of his Journey; and his Priests were in too much haste to be on Horseback too, and so the Beast grew skittish, and overthrew them both.

Then a new Set of Deliverers arose, who had saved us from King *James*'s Army, and would have given us a bigger in the Room of it, and some of them Foreigners; and told us that the King longed for them, and it was a Pity that so good a Prince should lose his Longing, and miscarry; but he did lose it, and miscarried no otherwise than by losing a great Part of the Confidence which many of his best Subjects before had in his Moderation; which Loss made the Remainder of his Reign uneasy to him, and to every good Man who saw it. I remember, all Men then declared against a Standing Army, and the Courtiers amongst the rest, who were only for a *Land-Force*, to be kept up no longer than till the King of *France* disbanded his, and till the Kingdom was settled, and the People better satisfied with the Administration; and then there was nothing left to do, in order to perpetuate them, but to take care that the People should never be satisfied: An Art often practis'd with an amazing Success.

The Reasons then given for keeping up an Army were, the great Number of Jacobites, the Disaffection of the Clergy and Universities, the Power and Enmity of *France*, and the Necessity of preserving so excellent a Body of Troops to maintain the Treaty of Partition, which they had newly and wisely made: But notwithstanding the Army was disband-

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ed; no Plot, Conſpiracy, or Rebellion, happen'd by their disbanding: The Partition-Treaty was broke; a new Army was rais'd, which won Ten times as many Victories as the former, and *Europe*, at laſt, is ſettled upon a much better Foot than it would have been by the Partition-Treaty. The Emperor is as ſtrong as he ought to be. The *Dutch* have a good Barrier. Another Power is rais'd in *Europe* to keep the Ballance even, which neither can nor will be formidable to us without our own Fault; *France* is undone, and the Regent muſt be our Friend, and have Dependance upon our Protection; ſo that ſome few of theſe Reaſons are to do now, what altogether could not do then, tho' we are not the tenth Part ſo well able to maintain them as we were then.

I ſhould be glad to know in what Situation of our Affairs it can be ſafe, to reduce our Troops to the uſual Guards and Garriſons, if it cannot be done now: There is no Power in *Europe* conſiderable enough to threaten us, who can have any Motives to do ſo, if we purſue the old Maxims and natural Intereſt of *Great Britain*; which is, *To meddle no farther with Foreign Squabbles, than to keep the Ballance even between* France *and* Spain: And this is leſs neceſſary too for us to do now, than formerly; becauſe the Emperor and *Holland* are able to do it, and muſt and will do it without us, or at leaſt with but little of our Aſſiſtance; but if we unneceſſarily engage againſt the Intereſts of either, we muſt thank ourſelves, if they

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endeavour to prevent the Effects of it, by finding us Work at Home.

When the Army was disbanded in King *William*'s Reign, a Prince was in Being who was personally known to many of his former Subjects, and had obliged great Numbers of them; who was supported by One of the most powerful Monarchs in the World, that had won numerous Victories, and had almost always defeated his Enemies, and who still preserved his Power and his Animosity: His pretended Son was then an Infant, and for any Thing that then appear'd, might have proved an active and a dangerous Enemy, and it was to be fear'd, that his Tutors might have educated him a half Protestant, or at least have taught him to have disguis'd his true Religion: At that Time, the Revolution, and Revolution-Principles, were in their Infancy; and most of the Bishops and dignified Clergy, as well as many others in Employment, owed their Preferments and Principles to the abdicated Family, and the Reverse of this, is our Case now.

France has been torn to Pieces by numerous Defeats, its People and Manufactures destroy'd by War, Famine, the Plague, and their *Mississippi* Company; and they are so divided at Home, that they will find enough to do to save themselves without troubling their Neighbours, and especially a Neighbour from whom the governing Powers there, hope for Protection. The Prince, who pretended to the Thrones of these Kingdoms, is dead, and he who calls himself his Heir is a bigotted Papist;

and has given but little Cauſe to fear any Thing from his Abilities or his Proweſs. The Principles of Liberty are now well underſtood, and few People in this Age, are Romantick enough to venture their Lives and Eſtates for the perſonal Intereſts of one they know nothing of, or nothing to his Advantage; and we ought to take Care that they ſhall not find their own Intereſt in doing it; and, I conceive, nothing is neceſſary to effect this, but to reſolve upon it. Almoſt all the dignified Clergy, and all the Civil and Military Officers in the Kingdom, owe their Preferments to the Revolution, and are as Loyal to his Majeſty as he himſelf can wiſh. A very great Part of the Property of the Kingdom ſtands upon the ſame Bottom with the Revolution. Every Day's Experience, ſhews us how devoted the Nobility are to gratify their King's juſt Deſires and Inclinations; and nothing can be more certain, than that the preſent Houſe of Commons, are moſt dutifully and affectionately inclin'd to the true Intereſt of the Crown, and to the Principles to which his Majeſty owes it. And beſides all this Security, a new Conſpiracy has been diſcovered and defeated; which gives full Occaſion and Opportunity to prevent any ſuch Attempts for the future; which can never be done, but by puniſhing the preſent Conſpirators, and giving no Provocation to new ones; in both which, I hope, we ſhall have the hearty Concurrence of thoſe who have the Honour to be employ'd by his Majeſty; by which they will ſhew, that they are as zealous to prevent the Neceſſity of

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Standing Armies, as I doubt not but the Parliament will be.

I presume, no Man will be audacious enough to propose, that we should make a Standing Army Part of our Constitution; and, if not, When can we reduce them to a competent Number better than at this Time? Shall we wait till *France* has recover'd its present Difficulties; till it's King is grown to full Age and Ripeness of Judgment; till he has dissipated all Factions and Discontents at Home, and is fallen into the natural Interests of his Kingdom, or perhaps aspires to Empire again? Or shall we wait till the Emperor, and King of *Spain*, have divided the Bear's Skin, and possibly become good Friends, as their Predecessors have been for the greatest Part of two Centuries, and perhaps cement that Friendship, by uniting for the common Interests of their Religion? Or till Madam *Sobiesky*'s Heir is of Age, who may have Wit enough to think, that the Popish Religion is dearly bought at the Price of Three Kingdoms? Or are we never to Disband, till *Europe* is settled according to some modern Schemes? Or till there are no Malecontents in *England*, and no People out of Employments who desire to be in them.

'Tis certain, that all Parts of *Europe* which are enslaved, have been enslaved by Armies, and 'tis absolutely impossible, that any Nation which keeps them amongst themselves, can long preserve their Liberties; nor can any Nation perfectly lose their Liberties, who are without such Guests: And yet, though

all Men see this, and at Times confess it, yet all have join'd, in their Turns, to bring this heavy Evil upon themselves and their Country. *Charles* the Second, formed his Guards into a little Army, and his Successor encreased them to three or four Times their Number; and without doubt these Kingdoms had been enslaved, if known Events had not prevented it. We had no sooner escaped these Dangers, but King *William's* Ministry form'd Designs for an Army again, and neglected *Ireland* (which might have been reduced by a Message) till the Enemy was so strong, that a great Army was necessary to recover it; and when all was done abroad, that an Army was wanted for, they thought it convenient to find some Employment for them at Home. However, the Nation happened not to be of their Mind, and disbanded the greatest Part of them, without finding any of these Dangers they were threatned with from their Disbanding. A new Army was raised again, when it became necessary, and disbanded again, when there was no more Need of them; and his present Majesty came peaceably to his Crowns, by the Laws alone, notwithstanding all the Endeavours to keep him out, by long Measures concerted to that Purpose.

It could not be expected, from the Nature of human Affairs, that those who had formed a Design for restoring the Pretender, had taken such large Steps towards it, and were sure to be supported in it by so powerful an Assistance as *France* was then capable of giving, should immediately lose Sight of so agreeable

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a Prospect of Wealth and Power, as they had before enjoyed in Imagination; yet it seems very plain to me, that all the Disturbance which afterwards happen'd, might have been prevented by a few timely Remedies; and when at last it was defeated with a vast Charge and Hazard, we had the Means in our Hands, of rooting out all Seeds of Faction and future Rebellions, without doing any Thing to provoke them; and 'tis certain, his Majesty was ready to do every Thing on his Part to that Purpose, which others over and over promised us; and what they have done, besides obliging the Nation with a Septennial Parliament, encreasing the publick Debts a great many Millions, and by the *South-Sea* Project paying them off, I leave to themselves to declare.

However, I confess, an Army at last became necessary, and an Army was raised Time enough to beat all who opposed it: Some of them have been knock'd on the Head, many carried in Triumph, some hang'd, and others confiscated, as they well deserved; and, I presume, the Nation would scarce have been in the Humour to have kept up an Army to fight their Ghosts, if a terrible Invasion had not threatned us from *Sweden*, which however, was at last frightned into a Fleet of Colliers, or Naval Stores, indeed I have forgot which. This Danger being over, another succeeded, and had like to have stole upon us from *Cales*, notwithstanding all the Intelligence we could possibly get from *Gibraltar*, which lyes just by it; and this shews, by the way, the little Use of that Place: But we have miraculously

escaped that Danger too; the greatest Part of their Fleet was dispersed in a Storm, and our Troops have actually defeated in the *Highlands*, some Hundreds of the Enemy, before many People would believe they were there. Since this, we have been in great Fear of the *Czar*; and last Year, one Reason given by many for continuing the Army was, to preserve us against the Plague.

But now the King of *Sweden* is dead, the *Czar* is gone a Sophi-hunting, the Plague is ceased, and the King of *Spain*'s best Troops have taken up their Quarters in *Italy*, where (if I guess right) they will have Employment enough, and what are we to keep up the Army now to do, unless to keep out the Small Pox? Oh! but there is a better Reason than that, namely, a Plot is discovered, and we can't find out yet all who are concerned in it, but we have pretty good Assurance, that all the *Jacobites* are for the Pretender, and therefore we ought to keep in Readiness a great Number of Troops, (who are to sleep on Horseback, or lye in their Jack-Boots) which may be sufficient to beat them all together, if they had a Twelvemonth's Time given them to beat up for Volunteers, to buy Horses and Arms, to form themselves into Regiments, and exercise them; lest, instead of lurking in Corners, and prating in Taverns, and at Cock-Matches, they should surprize Ten or Twelve Thousand armed Men in their Quarters: I dare appeal to any unprejudiced Person, whether this is not the Sum of some Mens Reasonings upon this Subject?

But

But I desire to know of these sagacious Gentlemen, in what Respect shall we be in a worse State of Defence than we are now, if the Army was reduced to the same Number as in King *William's* Time, and in the latter End of the Queen's Reign, and that it consisted of the same Proportion of Horse and Foot, that every Regiment had its compleat Number of Troops and Companies, and every Troop and Company had its Complement of private Men? 'Tis certain, upon any sudden Exigency, his Majesty would have as many Men at command as he has now, and, I presume, more common Soldiers, who are most difficultly to be got upon such Occasions; for Officers will never be wanting, and all that are now regimented will be in Half-pay, and ready at Call to beat up and raise new Regiments, as fast as the others could be filled up, and they may change any of the old Men into them, which reduces it to the same Thing: By this we shall save the Charge of double or treble Officering our Troops, and the Terror of keeping up the Corpse of Thirty or forty thousand Men, though they are called only Thirteen or Fourteen; and sure it is high Time to save all which can be saved, and, by removing all Causes of Jealousy, to unite all, who for the Cause of Liberty, are zealous for the present Establishment, in order to oppose effectually those who would destroy it.

I will suppose, for once, what I will not grant, that those call'd Whigs, are the only Men amongst us who are heartily attached to

his Majesty's Interest; for I believe the greatest Part of the Tories, and the Clergy too, would tremble at the Thought of Popery and Arbitrary Power; which must come in with the Pretender: But taking it to be otherwise, 'tis certain that the Body of the Whigs, and indeed I may say almost all, except the Possessors and Candidates for Employments or Pensions, have as terrible Apprehensions of a Standing Army, as the Tories themselves; and dare any Man lay his Hand upon his Heart and say, That his Majesty will find greater Security in a few Thousand more Men already regimented, than in the Steady Affections of so many Hundred Thousands who will be always ready to be regimented: When the People are easy and satisfied, the whole Kingdom is his Army; and King *James* found what Dependance there was upon his Troops, when his People deserted him. Would not any wise and honest Minister desire, during his Administration, that the Publick Affairs should run glibly, and find the hearty Concurrence of the States of the Kingdom, rather than to carry their Measures by perpetual Struggles and Entrigues, to waste the Civil List by constant and needless Pensions and Gratuities, be always asking for new Supplies, and rend'ring themselves, and all who assist them, odious to their Country-men?

In short, there can be but two Ways in Nature to govern a Nation, one is by their own Consent, and the other by Force: One gains their Hearts, and the other holds their Hands: The first is always chosen by those who

who design to govern the People for the People's Interest, and the other by those who design to oppress them for their own; for whoever desires only to protect them, will covet no useless Power to injure them: There is no fear of a People's acting against their own Interest, when they know what it is, and when, through ill Conduct or unfortunate Accidents, they become dissatisfied with their present Condition, the only effectual Way to avoid the threatning Evil, is to remove their Grievances.

When *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, with most of the Princes of *France*, at the Head of an Hundred Thousand Men, took up Arms against *Lewis* the Eleventh, that Prince sent an Embassy to *Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, desiring that he would lend him some of his Veteran Troops; and the Duke returned him for Answer, That he could not be content to have them cut to Pieces, (as they would assuredly have been) but told him at the same Time, That he would send him some Advice which would be worth Ten times as many Troops as he had; namely, That he should give Satisfaction to the Princes, and then they would disperse of Course; and the King improv'd so well upon the Advice, that he diverted the Storm, by giving but little Satisfaction to the Princes, and none at all to those who follow'd them: The Body of the People in all Countries are so desirous to live in quiet, that a few good Words, and a little good Usage from their Governors, will at any Time pacify them, and make them very often turn

upon those Benefactors, who by their Pains, Expence, and Hazard, have obtained those Advantages for them; and indeed, when they are not outragiously oppres's'd and ſtarved, are almoſt as ready to part with their Liberties, as others are to ask for them.

By what I have before ſaid, I would not be underſtood, to declare abſolutely againſt continuing our preſent Forces, or increaſing them, if the Importance of the Occaſion requires either; and the Evils threaten'd, are not yet diſſipated: But I could wiſh, that if ſuch an Occaſion appears, thoſe who think them at this Time neceſſary, would declare effectually, and in the fulleſt Manner, that they deſign to keep them no longer than during the preſent Emergency; and that, when it is over, they will be as ready to break them, as I believe the Nation will be to give them, when juſt Reaſons offer themſelves for doing ſo.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THINGS of the greateſt ſeeming Difficulty, appear the eaſieſt to us when found out. There was no Wit neceſſary to ſet an Egg on one End, when *Columbus* had ſhewn the Way. Jugglers do many Things by ſlight of Hand, which to a gaping Beholder appear to be Witchcraft; and when he knows how they are done, wonders at himſelf for

for wondring at them. A Ship as big as a Caſtle is ſailed by a Rudder and a Puff of Wind; and a Weight, which a thouſand Men can't move, may be eaſily manag'd by one, with the Help of Wheels and Pullies. The ſame is true in the Direction of Mankind, who will be always caught by a skilful Application to their Paſſions and their Weakneſſes, and will be eaſily drawn into what they will be very difficultly driven. The fierceſt Horſes are ſubdued by the right Management of the Bit; the moſt furious wild Beaſts tamed by gratifying their Appetites, or working upon their Fears; and the moſt ſavage Tempers are made tractable by ſoothing their Foibles, or knowing how to manage their Pannicks.

This is what is call'd the Knowledge of Mankind, which very few of them know any thing of. Pedants hope to govern them by Diſtinctions and grave Faces; Tyrants by Force and Terror; and Philoſophers by ſolemn Lectures of Morality and Virtue. And theſe have certainly a Share in influencing their Minds, and determining their Actions: but, altogether, not half ſo much as applying to their reigning Appetites, appearing Intereſts, and predominant Foibles, and taking artful Advantages of favourable Opportunities, and catching at lucky Conjunctures, to effect at once what a long Series of wiſe Councils, and the beſt concerted Meaſures, cannot bring about.

Wiſe Stateſmen well underſtand this Foible in human Nature, and, often take Advantage from a Plot diſcover'd, or a Rebellion quell'd;

quell'd; from the Tranſports of a Reſtoration, or a Victory obtain'd; or, during the Terrors of a peſtilential Diſtemper, or the Rage of a prevailing Faction, or the Fears of a deſponding one, to accompliſh what neither Threats nor Armies could extort, nor Bribes nor Allurements perſuade.

The ſame Advantages have been as luckily taken by the Leaders of popular Parties, upon ſudden Diſcontents and unſucceſsful Acts of Power, to obtain Conceſſions and Privileges which they durſt not think of, much leſs hope for, at other Times. My Lord *Clarendon* furniſhes us with many Inſtances of ſuch Conceſſions, which neither the Crown would have granted, nor the People been prevail'd upon to ask, nor perhaps accept before, or poſſibly after. Whereas a prepoſterous and ill-tim'd Attempt, on either Side, would have increas'd the Power they deſign'd to leſſen, or take away. The greateſt Secret in Politicks is to drive the Nail that will go.

If we hear a Southſayer, Poet, or Philoſopher, talk of the Dignity of human Nature, Man is lifted up to a Reſemblance with his great Creator: He is Lord of the Univerſe; all Things are made for his Uſe, even ſuch as are of no Uſe to him, but do him Miſchief. The Sun is placed in the Firmament to ripen his Cabbage, and dry his Linnen; and infinite Millions of Stars are ſtuck there, many thouſand Times bigger than the Earth, to ſupply the want of Farthing Candles, though vaſtly many of them are not to be ſeen but by Glaſſes, and, without doubt, infinite others not

not to be seen with them. He is made wise, discerning, form'd for Virtue, mutual Help and Assistance; and probably it was all true before the Fall: But as he is now degenerated, I fear the Reverse of all is true. It is plain that he is foolish, helpless, perfidious, impotent, easily misled and trepann'd, and, for the most Part, caught by as thin Snares and little Wiles as his Fellow Creatures, which, we are told, are made for his Use; and his boasted Faculty of Reason betrays him to some, from which the others are exempt.

True Reason has little to do in his Speculations or his Actions. Enthusiasm or *Pannick* Fear often supplies the Place of Religion in him: Obstinacy is call'd Constancy; and Indifference Moderation: His Passions, which direct and govern all the Motions of his Mind, seem to me to be purely mechanical, which perhaps I may shew more at Large hereafter; and whoever would govern him, and lead him, must apply to those Passions, that is, pull the proper Ropes, and turn the Wheels which will put the Machine in Motion. When *Chrisyppus* was introduc'd into the Presence of *Dionysius*, and, according to the Custom of that Court, fell upon his Face, and kiss'd the Oppressor's Feet; he was ask'd by *Plato*, How he, who was a *Greek*, a free Man, and a Philosopher, could fall prostrate before a Tyrant, and adore him? He answer'd merrily, That he had Business with the Tyrant; and if his Ears were in his Feet, he must speak to him where his Ears lay.

Now

Now moſt People's Ears lie in the wrong Place, and whoever will be heard muſt apply accordingly: We rarely ſee a wiſe Man who does not carry a Half-Fool about him; that by ſoothing his Vanities, flattering his Paſſions, and taking Advantages of his other Weakneſſes, can do more with him than all the World beſides; and indeed moſt Men are govern'd by thoſe who have leſs Wit than themſelves, or by what ought leaſt to influence them. Men, like other Animals, are caught by Springs, Wires, or Subtilties: Foxes are trapann'd by Traces, Pheaſants by a red Rag, and other Birds by a Whiſtle; and the ſame is true of Mankind.

A lucky Thought, a Jeſt, a fortunate Accident, or a jovial Debauch, ſhall bring about Deſigns and Revolutions in human Affairs, which twenty Legions in the Field could not bring about. A filthy Strumpet made *Alexander*, for a Kiſs, burn *Perſepolis*, the auguſt Seat of the *Perſian* Empire; and I have heard ſomewhere or other, of a great Prince, who being prevail'd upon to ſwear by his Miſtreſs's Bum, That he would diſſolve the States of his Kingdom, he religiouſly kept that Oath againſt his Intereſt, tho' he never valu'd all the reſt he took upon the Evangeliſts. How often hath a merry Story in our Days turn'd a Debate, when the moſt grave and ſolemn Arguments, and the moſt obvious Repreſentations of publick Advantage, could not prevail? And how many a fair and accompliſh'd Lady has been won by bribing her Chamber-Maid; when perhaps all the Sollicitations of her

her Parents and Relations, and all the Motives of Self-Intereſt would have prov'd ineffectual.

The lucky adjuſting of Times and Seaſons, taking Advantage of prevailing Prejudices and Pannicks, and knowing how to humour and lay hold of the predominant Enthuſiaſms of human Nature, has given Birth to moſt of the Revolutions in Religion and Politicks which ever happen'd in the World. A Juggler ſwallowing Bibles and Hour-Glaſſes, ſhall do more with a modern Mob than a Philoſopher; and a Scarecrow Prater, with diſtorted Limbs and Underſtanding, ſhall make Thouſands of them weep and wring their Hands, when the Oratory of *Demoſthenes*, or the Reaſonings of Mr. *Lock*, ſhall make them laugh or hoot. There is a certain Aſſimilation of Paſſions and Faculties in Men, which attract one another when they meet, and always ſtrike together, as when two Fiddles are tun'd up to the ſame Pitch; if you hit the one, the other ſounds: So Men are eaſieſt operated upon by thoſe of like Underſtandings with their own, or thoſe who the beſt know how to dally and play with their Foibles, and can do the ſame Thing with Deſign as the others do naturally.

I doubt not but I ſhall be cenſur'd for making thus bold with this Lord of the Creation, by thoſe who make much more bold with him on other Occaſions, and who would have the Monopoly of enjoying all the Scandal to themſelves: But, by the leave of thoſe ſolemn Gentlemen, I ſhall take the Liberty of conſidering

fidering Man as he is, since it is out of our Power to give a Model, to have him new made by.

Since then by the Sins of our first Parents, we are fallen into this unhappy and forlorn Condition, all wise and honest Men are oblig'd in Prudence and Duty, not only by Lectures of Philosophy, Religion, and Morals, to fashion this Sovereign of the Universe into his true Interest, but to make use of his Weaknesses to render him happy, as wicked Men do to make him miserable; in which I shall be more particular hereafter.

I am, &c.

SIR,

MORALITY, or moral Virtues, are certain Rules of mutual Convenience or Indulgence, conducive or necessary to the well-being of Society. Most of these are obvious; for every Man knows what he desires himself; which is to be free from Oppression, and the Insults of others, and to enjoy the Fruits of his own Acquisitions, arising from his Labour or Invention. And since he can have no Reason to expect this Indulgence to himself, unless he allows it to others, who have equal Reason to expect it from him, it is the common Interest of all, who unite together in the same Society, to establish such Rules and Maxims for their mutual

mutual Preſervation, that no Man can oppreſs or injure another, without ſuffering by it himſelf. As far as theſe Rules are diſcoverable by the Light of Reaſon, or that Portion of Underſtanding, which moſt, or all Men have, they are call'd Morality: But when they are the Productions of deeper Thought, or the Inventions only of Men of greater Sagacity, they are call'd Political Knowledge. But as Men are often in ſuch a Situation in reſpect of one another, that the Stronger can oppreſs the Weaker, without any fear of having the Injury return'd; and moſt Men will purſue their perſonal Advantage independent from all others; therefore Almighty God, in Compaſſion to Mankind, has annex'd Rewards and Puniſhments to the Obſervance or Non-obſervance of theſe Rules: The Belief of which, and a Practice purſuant to it, is call'd Religion.

I have often read, with Pleaſure, pretty ſpeculative Diſcourſes upon the intrinſick Excellence of Virtue, and of its having a real Exiſtence independent of human Conſiderations, or worldly Relations: But when I have been able to forget, or lay aſide the Dalliances and Amuſements of Fancy, and the beautiful Turns of Expreſſion, I could conſider it philoſophically, only as an empty Sound, when detach'd and ſeparated from natural, national, or religious Politicks; unleſs in ſome few Inſtances, where Conſtitution, and innate Tenderneſs, engage Men to pity others in Eaſe to themſelves, which is call'd Humanity.

All

All cardinal and private Virtues are Branches of these general Politicks. Fortitude enables us to defend our selves and others. Compassion is a Fellow-feeling of Calamities which we may suffer ourselves; and it is evident that People feel them in proportion, as they are likely to suffer the same or the like Calamities. Charity obliges us to give that Relief to others, which we, our Friends, or Relations, may want for ourselves. And Temperance and Frugality are necessary to the Preservation of our Bodies and Estates, and being useful Members of Society. I freely confess, that for my Part I can find out no other Motives in my self, or others, for these Affections or Actions, except Constitution, Ostentation, or temporal or religious Politicks, which are, in other Words, our present or eternal Interests; and I shall own my self beholden to any else who can find out any other; for there cannot be too many Motives for a virtuous Life.

How far the Systematical Gentlemen will agree with me in this speculative Philosophy, I do not know, nor shall think my self much concern'd to enquire; but 'tis certain their Practice, and many of the Doctrines they teach, confirm what I have said. I think all Mankind, except the *Bramins*, and the Transmigrators of Souls in the *East*, do agree, that we may destroy other Animals for Food and Convenience, and sometimes for Pleasure, or, to prevent but trifling Prejudice, to our selves, tho' they have the same, or very near the same, Organizations as we have, equal or greater Sensations of Pleasure and Pain, and many of them

them Sagacity and Reasoning enough to overreach and circumvent us; nor are they guilty of any other Crime, than that of acting according to their Natures, and preserving their Beings by such Food as is necessary to their Existence.

Indeed, as Things stand at present, tho' we had not Revelation for it, we may be very sure that God Almighty has given us Dominion over other Creatures, because he has actually given us the Power, in a good measure, to destroy and preserve them, as far as they may be hurtful or useful to us; and therefore we think them not Objects of moral Duties, because we can hurt them, and they cannot make Reprizals, or equal Reprizals, upon us: But if Almighty God had thought fit to have given to Lyons and Tygers the Use of Speech, Length of Life, to have gain'd more Experience, and had form'd their Claws and Hands to write and communicate that Experience, and by such Means had enabled them to have form'd themselves into Societies for mutual Defence against Mankind (whom they could quickly have destroyed, though only by confining and starving them in Inclosures and Fortifications.) I say, in such a Circumstance of Affairs, will any Man affirm, that it would not have been our Interest and Duty to have treated them with Morality and social Offices: I doubt, in such a Case, they would have told us, and have made us feel too, that they were not made only for our Use.

I will suppose, for once, a Dialogue between his Holiness and a Lyon, since Poets and

and ſome others have inform'd us, that Beaſts have ſpoken formerly; and I am ſure they were never more concern'd to ſpeak than upon the preſent Occaſion.

Pope. Thou art an ugly four footed Monſter, and thou liveſt upon the Deſtruction of thy Fellow Animals.

Lyon. I am as Nature has made me, which has given me many Faculties beyond yourſelf. I have more Courage, more Strength, more Activity, and better Senſes of Seeing, Hearing, &c. than you have: Nor do I deſtroy the hundredth Part of my Fellow-Animals in Compariſon with thoſe you deſtroy. I never deſtroy my own Species, unleſs I am provok'd; but you deſtroy yours for Pride, Vanity, Luxury, Envy, Covetouſneſs, and Ambition.

Pope. But thou art a great Gormandizer, and eateſt up all our Victuals, which was deſign'd for the Uſe of Men only; and therefore thou oughteſt to be exterminated.

Lyon. Nature, which gave me Life, deſign'd me the Means of Living; and ſhe has given me Claws and Teeth for that Purpoſe, namely, to defend my ſelf againſt ſome Animals, and to kill and eat others for my Suſtenance; and, amongſt the reſt, your Reverence, if I cannot get younger and better Food. You Men, indeed, may eat and live comfortably upon the Fruits of Trees, and the Herbs and Corn of the Field; but we are ſo formed, as to receive Support and Nouriſhment only from the Fleſh of other Animals.

Pope. Sirrah, thou haſt no Soul.

Lyon.

Lyon. The greater is my Misfortune. However, I have a Mind and Body, and have the more Reason to take Care of them, having nothing else to take Care of; and you ought the less to deprive and rob me of the little Advantages Nature has given me, you who enjoy so much greater yourself.

Pope. The Earth was given to the Saints; for (as St. *Austin* very judiciously observes) *the Wicked have Right to nothing, and the Godly to all Things*; and thou art certainly a very wicked Animal, and no true Believer.

Lyon. I have heard indeed before, that such Reasonings will pass amongst you Men, who have Faculties to reason yourselves out of Reason; but we Beasts know better Things: For having nothing but our Senses to trust to, and wanting the Capacities to distinguish ourselves out of them, we cannot be perswaded to believe, that those who have no more Honesty, and less Understanding than their Neighbours, have a Right to their Goods, and to starve them, by pretending to believe what the others do not understand; therefore, Worthy Doctor, you shall catch no Gudgeons here: You may brew as you bake amongst one another, but you will find no such Bubbles amongst us.

Pope. In short, thou art a sniveling saucy Jackanapes, and a great Rogue and Murtherer; and I wish thou hadst a Soul that I might damn it, and send thee to the Devil.

Lyon. Not half so great a Rogue as your self, Good Doctor, nor so great a Murtherer. You do more Mischief in a Year than all the

Lyons in the World did since the Creation. We kill only with our Teeth and Claws; you use a thousand Instruments of Death and Destruction. We kill single Animals; you kill by wholesale, and destroy Hecatombs at once; we kill for Food and Necessity; you kill for Sport and Pastime, and out of Wantonness, and to do your selves no Good. In fine, you murder or oppress all other Animals, and one another too.

Pope. Rascal, thou art made for my Use, and I will make thee know it, and order thee to be immediately knock'd on the Head for thy Skin, thou Varlet, and Beast for Satan.

Lyon. I'll try that presently.

Pope, (*crossing himself.*) Jesu! Maria! (*Exit in haste.*)

Lyon. Farewell, thou Lord of the Creation, and Sovereign of the Universe.

I believe I may venture to say, if Lyons could speak, they would talk at this Rate, and his Holiness but little better. But to return to my Subject.

I have said, That all, or most of Mankind act upon the former Principles, and, without the Motives of Religion, can find out no Reason to hope they should ever act otherwise; and I am sorry to say, that Religion it self has yet wanted Power enough to influence them (for the most Part) to contrary Sentiments or Actions. What Nation or Society does not oppress another when they can do it with Security, without Fear of Retaliation, or being affected by it in their own Interests,

with

with Regard to their Correſpondence with other States? It is plain, all ſocial Duties are here at an End; for what is call'd the Law of Nations, are only Rules of mutual Intercourſe with one another, without which they could have no Intercourſe at all, but muſt be in conſtant Courſe of War and Depredation; and therefore, whenever any State is in no Condition to repel Injuries, nor can have Protection from any other, who are concern'd to preſerve them, conſtant Experience ſhews us, That they become the Prey of a greater, who think themſelves obliged to keep no Meaſures with them, nor want Pretences from Religion or their own Intereſts to oppreſs them. Father *Auſtin*'s Diſtinction is always at Hand when they can get no better, and for the moſt part (if not always) they find Men of Reverence to thank God for their Roguery.

Since therefore Men ever have, and, I doubt, ever will, act upon theſe Motives, they ought not to be amuſed by the Play of Words, and the Sallies of Imagination, whilſt deſigning Men pick their Pockets; but ought to eſtabliſh their Happineſs, by wiſe Precautions, and upon ſolid Maxims, and, by prudent and fix'd Laws, make it all Mens Intereſt to be honeſt; without which, I doubt, few Men will be ſo.

I am, &c.

SIR,

WE have been long confounded about the Origin of Good and Evil, or, in other Words, of Virtue and Vice. The Opinion of ſome is, that Virtue is a ſort of real Being, and ſubſiſts in its own Nature. Others make it to conſiſt in Rules or Cautions, given us by the ſupreme Being for our Conduct here on Earth, and either implanted in our Natures, or conveyed to us by Revelation. A late Philoſopher fetches it from the Will and Commands of the civil Magiſtrate; but, for my own Part, I muſt conceive it only as a Compound of the two laſt; namely, a Relation of Mens Actions to one another, either dictated by Reaſon, by the Precepts of Heaven, or the Commands of the Sovereign, acting according to his Duty.

It is the Misfortune of thoſe publick-ſpirited and acute Gentlemen, who have oblig'd the World with Syſtems, that they always make common Senſe truckle to them; and when they are bewilder'd, and entangled amongſt Briars and Thorns, they never go back the Way they got in, but reſolve to ſcramble through the Brake, leap over Hedge and Ditch, to get into their old Road, and ſo for the moſt part ſcratch themſelves from Head to Foot, and ſometimes break their Necks into

to the Bargain. They never look back, and examine whether their Syſtem is true or falſe, but ſet themſelves to work to prove it at all Adventures: They are determined to ſolve all Contradictions, and grow very angry with all who are not ſo clear ſighted as themſelves.

This ſeems to me to be the Caſe in the preſent Queſtion. The common Light of Reaſon has told all Mankind, that there cannot be an Effect without a Cauſe; and that every Cauſe muſt be an Effect of ſome ſuperior Cauſe, till they come to the laſt of all, which can be no otherwiſe than ſelf-exiſtent, that is, muſt have exiſted from all Eternity. Some Sects of Philoſophers have thought this firſt Cauſe to be only pure Matter, not being able to conceive that any thing can be made out of nothing, or can be annihilated again afterwards; and they ſuppoſe that Matter has been in eternal Motion, and has the Seeds of Animals, Vegetables, and of every thing elſe within itſelf, and by its conſtant Motion and Revolutions, gives to them Life, Duration, and at laſt Death; and throws them into the Womb of Nature again to riſe up in new Shapes.

But others, by far the greateſt part of Mankind, are not able by this dark Syſtem to account for the exquiſite Contrivance and conſummate Wiſdom ſhewn in the Formation of Animals and Vegetables, in the regular and ſtupendious Structure and Circulation of the heavenly Bodies, and of the Earth, no more than for the Operations of our own Minds; and therefore muſt reaſonably judge, that when

ſo much Contrivance is neceſſary to bring about our own little Deſigns; the great Machine of Heaven and Earth, and the infinite and admirable Syſtems in it, could not be the ſpontaneous or neceſſary Productions of blind Matter; and therefore determine, that the firſt Being muſt have ſuitable Wiſdom to contrive and execute theſe great and amazing Works.

But theſe latter are not ſo well agreed amongſt themſelves about the Manner of Acting, or the Operations of this Being. For ſome think that he muſt act from the Neceſſity of his own Nature: For ſince his Being is neceſſary, they think that his Will and Attributes, (which are Parts of his Being, eſſential to it, and inſeparable from it) and conſequently his Actions, which are Reſults of that Will, and of thoſe Attributes, muſt be neceſſary too. They cannot conceive how a Being, who has the Principles and Cauſes of all Things within itſelf, could exiſt without having ſeen every thing intuitively from all Eternity; which muſt have excluded Choice and Preference in his Actions, which implies Doubt and Deliberation.

They cannot apprehend how Reaſon and Wiſdom can be analogous in him to what are call'd by the ſame Names in Men: For Judgment in them, as far as it regards their own voluntary Operations, is only the Ballance of the Conveniences or Inconveniences which will reſult from their own or others Thoughts or Actions, as they have relation to Beings or Events out of their Power, and which depend upon other Cauſes: But if a Being can have

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no Causes without itself, but produces every Thing by its own Energy and Power, sees all Things at once, and cannot err, as Men may, nor consequently deliberate and debate with itself; they think it must act singly, and in one Way only; and where there is no Choice, or, which is the same thing, but one Choice, they conceive there is always Necessity.

But the contrary is much the more orthodox and religious Opinion, and has been held by far the greatest and best Part of Mankind in all Ages before, and without Revelation: They have thought this last Opinion border'd too much upon the material System, as being able to see but little Difference in the Operations of a Being acting necessarily, and the Productions of blind Matter constantly in Action, and acting mechanically; since the Effect is supposed to be the same, tho' Wisdom and Contrivance, or what we are forc'd to call by those Names for want of another, are the first Spring, or chief Wheel of the Machine, or one Link of the Chain of Causes: And therefore Men have condemned this Opinion as impious and atheistical.

Indeed the other Speculations have been only the wild and babling Notions of Fairy Philosophers, or of enthusiastick and visionary Madmen; for all prudent and modest Men pretend to know no more of this Being, without Revelation, than that he is wise, good, and powerful, and made all Things, and do not presume farther to enquire into the *Modus* of his Existence and Operations. However, their own Interest and Curiosity were so much

concern'd to gueſs at his Deſigns and Motives in placing them here, that it was impoſſible they could be otherwiſe than ſolicitous and inquiſitive about it; and finding, or fancying themſelves to be the moſt valuable Part of the Whole, it was very natural for them to believe that all was made for their Sakes, and that their Happineſs was the only or chief View of the ſupreme Being.

With theſe Thoughts about him, every Man knowing what he had a Mind to have himſelf, and what he believ'd would conſtitute his own Happineſs, and not being able to attain it without making the ſame Allowance to other People; Men agreed upon equal Rules of mutual Convenience and Protection, and finding theſe Rules dictated to them by impartial Reaſon, they juſtly believ'd they were implanted within them by the Deity; and as they expected themſelves Returns of Gratitude or Applauſe for Benefits conferr'd by them upon others, they thought the ſame were due to the original Being, who gave to them Life, and every thing elſe they enjoy'd: And this is call'd Natural Religion.

But as the Motive, which Men had to enter into this equal Agreement, was their own Pleaſure and Security, which moſt or all Men prefer before the Advantage of others, ſo they often found themſelves in a Condition, by ſuperior Power, Will, and Abilities, to circumvent thoſe who had leſs than themſelves, either by artful Confederacies, Impoſtures, or by downright Force, to oppreſs them; and in order to it, have invented Syſtems or partial

Schemes

Schemes of ſeparate Advantage, and have annex'd ſuitable Promiſes or Menaces to them: All which they have pretended to receive from this Divine Being: They aſſum'd to have Communication with him, and to know his Will, and denounc'd his Anger againſt all who would not take their Word, and let them do by his Authority, what they would never have been permitted to do by any other; and the Herd not daring to oppoſe them, or not knowing how, have acquieſced in their Tales, and come in Time to believe them. From hence ſprang all the Follies and Roguery of the Heathen and Jewiſh Prieſts, and all the falſe Religions in the World; with all the Perſecutions, Devaſtations, and Maſſacres cauſed by them; which were all heterogeneous Engraftments upon Natural Religion.

Almighty God thought it proper therefore at laſt to communicate himſelf again to Man, and by immediate Revelation to confirm what he at firſt implanted in all Mens Minds, and what was eradicated thence by Deluſion and Impoſture; but though he thought it not neceſſary to tell us more than we were concern'd to know, namely, to do our Duty to himſelf and to one another, yet we will ſtill be prying into his Secrets, and ſifting into the Cauſes of his original and eternal Decrees, which are certainly juſt and reaſonable, tho' we neither know his Reaſons, nor could judge of them, if we did.

From hence ariſes this Diſpute concerning the Origin of Good and Evil, amongſt a thouſand others, for our Vanity inducing us to

fancy our ſelves the ſole Objects of his Providence, and being ſure we receive our Beings from him, and conſequently our Senſations, Affections, and Appetites, which are Parts of them, and which evidently depend either mediately or immediately upon Cauſes without us, and ſeeing at the ſame Time, that many Things happen in the World ſeemingly againſt his reveal'd Will, which he could prevent if he thought fit; we either recur to the Intrigues of a contrary Being, whoſe Buſineſs it is to thwart his Deſigns, and diſappoint his Providence, or elſe account for it by a Malignity in human Nature, more prone to do Evil than Good, without conſidering from whence we had that Nature; for if the Malignity in it is greater than Precepts, Examples, or Exhortations can remove, the heavier Scale muſt weigh down.

How much more modeſt and reaſonable would it be to argue, That moral Good and Evil in this World, are only Relations of our Actions to the ſupreme Being, and to one another, and would be nothing here below, if there were no Men? That no Event can happen in the Univerſe but what muſt have Cauſes ſtrong enough to produce it? That all Cauſes muſt firſt or laſt center in the ſupreme Cauſe, who, from the Exiſtence of his own Nature, muſt always do what is beſt, and all his Actions muſt be inſtantaneous Emanations of himſelf? He ſees all Things at one View, and nothing can happen without his Leave and Permiſſion, and without his giving Power enough to have it effected: Therefore when

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we see any thing which seems to contradict the Images which we have presum'd to form about his Essence, or the Attributes we bestow upon him, (which Images and Attributes are, for the most Part, borrowed from what we think most valuable amongst our selves,) we ought to suspect our own Ignorance, to know that we want Appetites to fathom infinite Wisdom, and to rest assur'd that all Things conduce to the Ends and Designs of his Providence, who always chuses the best Means to bring them about.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE already said, that I could consider Good and Evil only as in relation to Mens Actions to one another, or to the supreme Being; in which Actions they can have for their End their own Interest alone, in Present or Futurity. But when I consider these Ideas in regard to God, I must consider them as Objects of his Will, which can alone constitute Right or Wrong, tho' they may sometimes not quadrate with the Notions that we form of Justice amongst one another, and which are only prudent Rules for our own separate Convenience, and take in no Part of the Creation but our selves. We cannot enter into the *Rationale* of God's punishing all Mankind for the

Sin of their firſt Parents, which they could not help; nor for his puniſhing all *Iſrael* with a Peſtilence for the private Sin of *David*, which, without doubt, many of them condemn'd; nor for his bringing Plagues upon the *Egyptians*, becauſe he had harden'd *Pharaoh*'s Heart; no more than for his deſtroying all Mankind at the Deluge, for Crimes which he could have prevented; and Multitudes of the like Inſtances in holy Writ beſides, which we cannot account for by our weak Reaſonings, (which have for their Object only our own Advantage;) but we are very ſure theſe Things were done, and rightly done; and all conduc'd to ſome ſuperior, wiſe, and juſt End. Almighty God judges of the Whole of Things, and we only of them as they regard our ſelves. The whole Syſtem of the Univerſe is his Care; and all other inferior Beings muſt be ſubordinate to the Intereſts of this great One, and all contribute, in their ſeveral Stations and Actions, to bring about at laſt the grand Purpoſes of his Providence. Infinite Millions of Animals are born with the Morning Sun, and probably ſee old Age, and feel the Pangs of Death before Noon: Great Numbers of them by their Death preſerve Life, or give Convenience to others, who otherwiſe could not live at all, or muſt live upon very ill Terms. Vegetables riſe, grow, decay, die again, and get a new Reſurrection in other Shapes. All Nature is in perpetual Rotation, and working through a thouſand Revolutions to its laſt Period, and the Conſummation of all Things, when its great Author will know how

how to make all Individuals recompense for the Evils they have suffer'd here, and perhaps give us Faculties to know, admire, and glorify his Conduct, in those Instances which may seem most mysterious to our narrow Capacities in this frail State.

But this general and comprehensive System of the Universe, and this honourable Conception of the Deity, and Acquiescence in, and Submission to his Will, will not square with the Interests of particular Societies of Men, who think themselves concern'd to find out a System for themselves alone; and therefore, to avoid those Consequences (which I can see no Purposes of Religion serv'd in avoiding) they compliment away his Power, Prescience and general Providence, to do Respect to the Notions they have pleas'd to conceive of his Justice, which they have thought fit to measure by their own Interests, or what they think best for themselves. They first determine what they desire to have; then call it just, and immediately interest Heaven to bring it about; and finding that it contradicts the Experience of Mankind, all the Notions they can conceive of the Workings of Providence, and the Nature of Things themselves, (which always operate from Cause to Effect) they set themselves to work to form a new Scheme at the Expence of denying all that they see, or can know.

In order to this, they have made Man the *Primum Mobile*, and his Mind the first Principle or Spring of all his Actions, independent of the Author of his Being, and of all the

second Causes, which evidently influence and concur to determine his Resolutions and his Actions. They say, that Almighty God (who has infinite Justice and Power) having given to Mankind a Rule to act by, and annex'd Rewards or Menaces to the Observance or Non-observance of this Rule, has given a free, uncontroul'd, and impartial Liberty to him to determine, without being coerced or restrain'd by any other Power to do, or not to do an Action, or to chuse Good or Evil to himself: His Justice, they say, obliges him to this Conduct, and his Power enables him to execute and bring it to pass; and so by affecting to do Right to one Attribute of his, which they cannot understand, and which they may possibly mistake, by supposing it to be different from his Will, (which alone, as has been said, can constitute Right or Wrong) they take away and rob him of all or most of the rest.

His Prescience or Knowledge (from all Eternity) of every Event which does or can happen in the Universe, is denied at once; for whatever is contingent in its own Nature, and may or may not happen, cannot be foreseen; for when any Being sees that a Thing will be, it must be; for it is impossible to know that any Event will come to pass, that may not come to pass; and 'tis equally impossible to foresee an Effect without knowing the Causes which produce it. 'Tis no Irreverence to the supreme Being, to say, That he cannot do Impossibilities, and know Things which cannot be known; and 'tis certain he must

must know all Things which can be known, because they all depend upon his Will.

It reflects upon his Wisdom or Power: Upon the first, as supposing he desires or intends to bring any Designs or Purposes to pass, and yet that he has not chosen the proper Methods to attain them; or upon the latter, that he cannot attain them if he would; it intrenches upon his Providence and Government of the Universe, by giving Part of his Power out of his own Hands, and by leaving it to the Discretion of inferior and weak Beings, to contradict himself and disappoint his Intentions: And even his Justice itself, to which all the rest are so freely sacrificed, is attack'd upon such Reasonings, in charging Almighty God with Severity in punishing Crimes committed through Weakness, Want, or predominant Appetites, and which he could have prevented by giving others. I do not see what has been or can be said to these Objections more, than that we are not to reason upon the Proceedings of Providence, which acts upon Motives and Maxims far above us, and which are not to be scan'd by our little Rules and scanty Capacities; and if these Gentlemen could but be perswaded to reason thus at first, they would save themselves the Trouble of solving perpetual Contradictions.

For what can be more evident, than that the Actions of Man, which seem most spontaneous and free, depend upon his Will to do them; and that that Will is directed by his reasoning Faculties, which depend again upon the good or ill Organization of his Body, upon

upon his Complexion, the Nature of his Education, imbib'd Prejudices, State of Health, predominant Paſſions, Manner of Life, fortuitous Reaſonings with others, different kinds of Diet, and the Thouſands of Events, ſeeming Accidents, and the perpetual Objects which encompaſs him, and which every Day vary and offer themſelves differently to him; all or moſt of which Cauſes, and many more which probably determine him, muſt be confeſs'd to be out of his Power. Conſtant Experience ſhews us, that Men differently conſtituted, or differently educated, will reaſon differently, and the ſame Men in different Circumſtances. A Man will have different Sentiments about the ſame Things, in Youth, in middle Age, and in Dotage, in Sickneſs and in Health, in Liquor and Sobriety, in Wealth and in Poverty, in Power and out of it, and the Faculties of the Mind are viſibly altered by Phyſick, Exerciſe, or Diet.

The ſame Reaſon which is convincing to one Man, appears ridiculous to another, and to the ſame Man at different Times; and conſequently, his or their Actions, which are Reſults of thoſe Reaſonings, will be different: And we not only all confeſs this, by endeavouring to work upon one another by theſe Mediums, but Heaven thinks fit to chooſe the ſame; for what elſe can be meant by offering Rewards and denouncing Puniſhments, but as Cauſes to produce the Effects deſign'd, that is, to ſave thoſe whom Almighty God in his deep Wiſdom has preordain'd to Bliſs, and to be influenced by thoſe Motives. We all confeſs,

fess, that no Man can do his Duty without the Grace of God, and whoever has the Grace of God will do his Duty. It is undoubtedly to be obtained by Prayer, but we must have Grace to pray for it; and I am not sensible that Almighty God does any other way give his Grace but by offering to us, or by laying in our Way sufficient Inducements to obey his Will: I am sure I can find none else in myself, or discover them in others, whatever the Enthusiastick and Visionary Gentlemen may do. I doubt much, that what they call Grace, is what I call Enthusiasm, or a strong Conceit or Perswasion of their own Godliness and Communication with the Deity.

What sort of Reasoning then is this, to say, that Heaven gives to every Man sufficient Power and Motives to chuse the best, which yet prove insufficient; that he has made every Man free to act or not to act by a Rule, and yet has plac'd him in such a Situation as to find a thousand Obstacles in his Way to that Freedom; and that he has given him a Judgment capable to determine right, and Opportunities rightly to exercise that Judgment; and yet by making use of that Judgment and those Opportunities, he often judges directly contrary: And all this is to make good a System, as yet owned but by a very small Part of Mankind, and for which I can find no Foundation in Reason and Scripture?

I must beg leave to think it very audacious in a small Number of Men, to determine the Workings of Providence by their own narrow Schemes, at the Expence too of condemning the

the Opinions and Reaſonings of the greateſt Part of the World in all Ages. All or moſt of the Sects of Philoſophers in *Greece* and *Rome*, held Fate or Neceſſity as the ſeveral Sects amongſt the *Jews* did, except the *Eſſenes*, a very ſmall Sect indeed, not exceeding few thouſands. The *Mahometans*, through the World, hold Predeſtination: The *Calviniſts*, and ſome other Proteſtant Sects, hold it now; and I do not underſtand the Articles of the Church of *England*, if it is not the orthodox Opinion amongſt us; and it certainly was held to be ſo, till a few Doctors in King *James* and *Charles* I's Time, advanc'd the contrary Syſtem, and who, in the Addreſſes of Parliament, were always, in thoſe Reigns, rank'd with the Papiſts for doing ſo; and it is yet undoubtedly the Opinion of the common People thro' the World: However, I do not condemn any one who may think that this is derogatory to the Attributes of God, in a modeſt Manner to offer his Reaſons againſt any Dogma ever ſo well eſtabliſh'd, (which I think is the Right of all Mankind,) yet I could wiſh they would ſhew the ſame Modeſty, in giving other People their Liberty of defending the contrary Opinion with the ſame good Intentions.

The moſt pregnant and uſual Objection againſt this Doctrine is, That if Men are predeſtinated to eternal Bliſs or Miſery, their own Endeavours are uſeleſs, and they can have no Motives to prefer Good before Evil; which, I confeſs, will always be the Reaſonings of Men who are predeſtinated to the latter, (if 'tis poſſible to ſuppoſe there can be any ſuch;)

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but those who are determined to the first, will always believe, that God takes proper Means to attain his Ends, and that he designs to save Men by the Medium of good Works, and of obeying his Will; and this Conviction will be an adequate Cause to produce such Obedience in those who are destined to Happiness. If the End is predestinated, the Means must be predestinated too. If a Man is to die in War, he must meet an Enemy; and if he is to be drown'd, he must come within the reach of Water; or if he is to be starv'd, he must not know how to come at any Victuals, or have no Mind to eat them, or Stomach to digest them.

As for my own part, I dare not believe, that the all-good, all-wise, and most merciful God, has determined any of his Creatures to endless Misery, by creating and forming them with such Appetites and Passions as naturally and necessarily produce it; though I think it to be fully consistent with his Power, Goodness, and Justice, to give Inclinations which may lead and entitle us to Happiness; and, as I conceive, there is nothing in the Holy Scriptures which expressly decides this Difficulty, as I may possibly shew hereafter; so I shall not presume to search too narrowly into the secret Dispensations of Providence, or to pronounce any Thing dogmatically concerning his Manner of governing the Universe, more than that he cannot make his Creatures miserable without just and adequate Reasons. And therefore, since we find in Fact, that many of them are so in this State, we must account for this

this by Mediums agreeable to his indisputed Attributes, or own that we cannot account for it at all, though it is unquestionably just in it self. All Means will probably conduce in the End to impartial and universal Good, and whatever, or how many States soever of Probation we may pass through, yet I hope, that the Mercies of God, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, will at last exceed, and preponderate the Frailties, Mistakes, and temporary Transgressions of weak and mortal Men; all which I shall endeavour, in Time, to shew from Scripture and Reason: The former of which, in my Opinion, is too generally mistaken or perverted, to signify what it does not intend, by straining some Passages beyond their literal and genuine Signification, and explaining others too literally, and not making due Allowances to the Manner of speaking used amongst the Eastern Nations, which was very often, if not most commonly, in Hyperboles and other Figures and Allegories. But more of this hereafter, when I dare promise to deserve the Pardon of every candid Person, whom I cannot convince.

I am, &c.

SIR,

AS all the Ideas or Images of the Brain must be caus'd originally by Impreſſions of Objects without us, ſo we can reaſon upon no other. A Man born blind can have no Image of Light or Colours; nor one who has been always deaf, of Sounds; whatever Deſcriptions are given of them. There are many Creatures in the World who want ſome Organs of Senſe which we have, and probably there are others in the Univerſe which have many that we want, and ſuch Beings, if there be any ſuch, muſt know many Things of which we have no Conception; and they muſt judge of other Things, of which we have a more partial Conception, in different Lights from what we are capable of judging. It is not certain that any two Men ſee Colours in the ſame Lights; and it is moſt certain, that the ſame Men at different Times, according to the good or ill Diſpoſition of their Organs, ſee them in various ones, and conſequently their Ratiocinations upon them will be different; which Experience ſhews us to be true in diſtemper'd enthuſiaſtick or melancholy Men.

Our Senſes are evidently adapted to take in only finite or limited Beings; nor are we capable of conceiving their Exiſtence, otherwiſe than

than by the Mediums of Extention and Solidity. The Mind finds that it ſees, hears, taſtes, ſmells, and feels, which is its Manner of firſt conceiving Things, or in other Words, is the *Modus* in which Objects affect it; and it can reaſon no farther upon them, than according to thoſe Impreſſions: So that it is converſant only about the Film or Outſide of Bodies, and knows nothing of their internal Contexture, or how they perform their Operations, and conſequently can affirm or deny nothing about them, but according to the Perceptions it has; and when it goes further, or attempts to go further, it rambles in the Dark, and wades out of its Depth, and muſt rave about *Non Entities*, or, which is the ſame thing to us, about what we do or can know nothing of, or nothing to the Purpoſe; and yet theſe Things, or theſe Nothings, have employ'd the Leiſure, Speculations, and Pens of many very learned Men, as if true Wiſdom conſiſted in knowing what we want Faculties to know.

All that we can know of Infinity, Eternity, *&c.* is, That we can know little or nothing about them. We muſt underſtand what we mean by the Terms, or elſe we could not uſe them, or muſt uſe them impertinently. We perfectly apprehend what we mean by Duration, which is our Conception of the Continuance of Things, and contains in it a *terminus a quo* to a *terminus ad quem*, that is, *it has certain Boundaries in our Imaginations*, and we can multiply this Conception backwards and forwards, without ever being able to come to the End

End of it, and so may be sure that it is without End; and then the Imagination is lost, and can go no further. We know that all extended Bodies are divisible, and can never be divided so often, but they may be divided further; and therefore say justly, they are infinitely divisible; nor can any Body be so large or long as to come to the End of Extension. And therefore we may safely affirm, That Extension or Space (which is our Conception of the Existence and Immensity of Bodies) is infinite; but then we know no other Properties of Infinity or Eternity, but by the Help of these Conceptions, which being limited and finite, cannot measure what is infinite and eternal; that is, we cannot comprehend what is incomprehensible to any Being which is not infinite and eternal too; and whose Existence is not as unmeasurable by Time and Place as those Images are.

All the Disputes, seeming Contradictions, and Absurdities, which offer themselves when we think or talk of Infinity or Eternity, arise from our applying our Thoughts, which are confined to finite Beings, and our Words, which are coined to convey finite Conception, to Subjects which are infinite, and of which we can have no adequate Ideas that can be express'd by Sounds. Nothing is more true in finite Beings, than that the Whole must consist of all its Parts; but in Infinity, there is no Whole, nor consequently Parts. Where there is no Beginning nor any End, there can be no Middle; and where there is no Whole, there can be no Half. Time or Space in Theory

Theory are not divisible, because nothing but Time or Space can divide them, and then they are not divided; yet we know that Time or Space, as they have relation to finite Beings, and our Existence or Duration, may be divided, and are so; and therefore the Riddles made about them are owing to the Narrowness of our Capacities, and to our endeavouring to apply such Conceptions as we have, to Objects of which we can have no Conception, which is, in effect, to attempt to hear Sights and see Sounds.

It is the same Thing to pretend to define Eternity, or comprehend Infinity; which is to put Limits and Ends to what has no Limits and Ends, and to comprehend what is incomprehensible; which Conceptions contradict one another, and cannot stand together in a Proposition. It is the same to talk of infinite Number, for all Number must be finite.

How vain therefore is it, to form any Propositions or Reasonings beyond our Images, or to make positive Deductions from Premisses wholly negative? From hence I conceive proceed all the Fairy Disputes about the *Modus* of God's existing; what are his Attributes and Manner of acting; whether *Space is a real Being*, or only *the Order of Things amongst themselves*; whether it is the *Sensorium of God*, or what is *the Meaning of the Word* Sensorium: Which Controversies have taken up great Part of the Time of two very learned Men, that has been spent, as I think, mostly in shewing that they know nothing of the Matter, or next to nothing. I am sure I have learn'd nothing

thing from their Elucidations, whatever others may have done.

All that God Almighty has thought fit to tell us about the *Modus* of his Exiſtence is, *I am that I am.* And this we ſhould have known if he had not told it to us; and I believe it is all we ever ſhall know, till he gives us other Faculties. We are very ſure that God *is*; that ſome Being muſt have exiſted before any Limitation of Time, and independent of every other Being; and conſequently muſt have exiſted neceſſarily, or what we call eternally. It is exceeding probable, and, I think, certain, that there cannot be two or more ſuch Beings as are neceſſary and ſelf-exiſting; and if but one, then that muſt be the Cauſe of all the reſt, or, which is the ſame thing, muſt produce all the reſt; which mediately or immediately muſt derive their Exiſtence, Faculties, Senſations, Capacities, Powers of Action, and conſequently their Actions themſelves, from him.

But by what Energy or Power he effects this, we are wholly ignorant; and though the Wits of learned Men have been employ'd in ſolving this intricate Queſtion for many thouſand Years, yet the World is now juſt as wiſe as when they firſt ſet out; and therefore I humbly think it is high Time to give over, and to content our ſelves with knowing all that we can know, that is, that we can know nothing about it; and conſequently, ought not to form Propoſitions about God's Eſſence, his Attributes, concerning his Eternity, his Infinity, the *Modus*, or what is the *Senſorium* of his

his Exiſtence, or of his Ways or Motives for making or governing the Univerſe: For I conceive in theſe Queſtions we muſt walk wholly in the Dark; like Travellers who are out of their Way, the further they go, the greater is their Journey home again.

However, I think we are left at liberty to reaſon about Things which we do know, and therefore may with great Aſſurance ſay, That God made all Things, and that every Thing depends immediately, or, by ſecond Cauſes, mediately upon him; and that it is abſolutely impoſſible they can do otherwiſe.

I do not ſee how a greater Abſurdity can be put together in Words, than that one Being ſhall make another, create the Matter of which it was made, give it all the Faculties it has, all its Capacities of Reaſoning, Powers of Action, Means of Thinking, and preſent it with all its Objects for thinking, and yet leave it at liberty to act againſt them all; which I conceive is a downright Impoſſibility. A Pair of Scales perfectly pois'd cannot ponderate on either Side; and a Man who has no Motives to act, will not act at all. Every thing muſt be at reſt which has no Force to impell it; but as the leaſt Straw breaks the Horſe's Back, or a ſingle Sand will turn the Beam of Scales which holds Weights as heavy as the World; ſo, without doubt, as minute Cauſes may determine the Actions of Men, which neither others, nor they themſelves are ſenſible of; but certainly ſomething muſt determine them, or elſe they could not be determined; and it is nothing to the purpoſe to ſay, that their

Choice

Choice determines them, if something else must determine that Choice; for let it be what it will, the Effect must be necessary. To say that a Man has a Power to act without any Motives or Impulse to act, seems to me to be a direct Blunder: A Man can't have a Will, to act against his Will; and if he has a Will to do it, something must determine that Will, and whatever it is, must be his Cause of Action, and will produce the Action; and that can only be the Appearance of Advantage arising from it; and those Appearances must arise from the seeming Relations of Objects to one another, or to himself; which are not in his Disposal, nor consequently are his Actions in the Sense contended for.

If a Man can do a voluntary Action without a Design to do it, and without any Reason or Motive for doing it, then Matter without *Understanding* has a self-moving Power; which is Atheism with a Witness, tho' I will not, according to laudable Custom, call the Assertors of it Atheists, because they may not see the Consequence; for take away *Understanding*, and there can be nothing left but Matter: And *Understanding* is certainly taken away, when a Being has no Reason for acting; but when he has a Reason, that Reason is the Cause, or Co-cause of the Action.

The Question therefore is not whether a Man can do what he has a Mind to do, but, Whether he can do what he has no Mind to do? That is, if his Inclinations concur with his Reasonings, his appearing Interests, and his predominant Passions, whether altogether will

will not form his Reſolutions, and make him act purſuant to them, whilſt thoſe Motives continue. One may as well ſay a Man can avoid ſeeing, when an Object ſtrikes the Eye, or Hearing, when it hits the Ear, as to believe that he can decline thinking, when the Motion cauſed by the Object reaches the Brain, or wherever elſe the Seat of Thinking is, unleſs ſome other more powerful Object obſtructs or diverts it in its Journey, or afterwards; and when he does think, he muſt think as he can, that is, according as Objects from without are repreſented by their Images to him within, or, in other Words, as they act upon the animal Spirits, or whatever elſe it is which ſets the Machine in Motion. A Man cannot avoid feeling Pain or Sickneſs, which are Senſations of the Mind, nor chuſe whether he will feel them or not; nor can he avoid deſiring to get rid of them, unleſs ſome ſtronger Motives determine him, which promiſe him greater Advantages than he ſuffers Inconveniencies.

But here the Metaphyſical Gentlemen diſtinguiſh between the Motions of the Body and thoſe of the Mind: They own the Pulſe will beat, the Nerves, Arteries, Muſcles, and Blood, will move whether we will or not: And is it not as evident, that, according as they move or beat, the Mind receives Alteration, is enlarg'd or leſſen'd, improv'd or impair'd, and determin'd in many of its Reſolutions. A Man ſick, or in Pain, will ſend for or go to a Phyſician or Surgeon, which draws after it a Train of other Reſolutions or Actions; and, according to the Succeſs he meets

meets with, may alter the whole Scheme of his Life, and of his After-thinking, and very often of his Capacity of Thinking. As our Bodies are healthy or diſorder'd, we are courageous, jealous, fearful, enthuſiaſtick, or melancholy, and reaſon differently, and act differently: And is it not then choice Philoſophy, to ſay, that the Contexture and Diſpoſition of our Bodies (which were not of our own making) often direct or influence the Reſolutions of our Minds, and yet are not the Cauſes of thoſe Reſolutions; and to go on to ſuppoſe, that our Minds act independently of them, as well as of all other Cauſes: For 'tis ridiculous to ſay, that tho' the Mind has a Principle of Self-Motion, yet other Cauſes co-operate to produce the Action; for if any other Cauſe makes it do what it would not otherwiſe do, that is the Cauſe or Co-cauſe of the Action produc'd to all the Purpoſes of this Argument; nor can I gueſs at any one Argument which can be made uſe of to ſhew, that ſecond Cauſes can produce Part of the Action, or co-operate in producing it, which can prove them incapable to produce the Whole. The moſt that can be pretended is, that there is a Poſſibility that it may be ſo; but I conceive no Reaſon can be aſſign'd why it may not be otherwiſe; but whether it is ſo or not, I think I have ſhewn, that the Mind of Man can be only a ſecondary Cauſe, muſt be acted upon by other Cauſes, and that God alone is the firſt Cauſe or Principle of all Motion; and that the Actions of all other Beings are neceſſarily dependent upon him.

A very great and justly celebrated Author, who supposes that a Man has a self-moving Power, and, I think, only supposes it, endeavours to determine the Question, by reducing his Opponents to account for what no Man yet has accounted for, and yet every Man sees to be true: He says, * *If the Reasons and Motives, upon which a Man acts, be the immediate and efficient Cause of the Action, then either abstract Notions (as all Reasons and Motives are) are in themselves Substances, or else that which has no real Subsistence can put a Body in Motion.*

Now the Force of this Reasoning consists in putting his Adversary upon shewing how the Mind acts upon the Body, or the Body upon the Mind; and he would have done kindly to have let us into that Secret himself. When he is so obliging to inform the World how the Eye sees, the Ear hears, or the Palate tastes, I dare undertake to solve any other Difficulty he proposes. We find by Experience, when an Object strikes the Eye, it causes that Sensation which we call Seeing; and a Man cannot avoid seeing, no more than in other Circumstances he can avoid feeling Pain and Sickness, which are undoubtedly Actions of the Mind; or if he chuses another manner of Expression, we will call them Passions, (and indeed they are both, *viz.* the latter as they are impell'd by other Causes, and the former as they produce future Events; and

* *Dr.* Clark's *Remarks upon a Philosophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty*, Page 43.

it

it seems very trifling to me, in so great a Man, to spend so many Pages about the Propriety of a Word, when the Meaning intended to be conveyed by it was fully understood: but certainly they are Species of Thinking, or, if he pleases, abstract Notions, which often put a Body in Motion, as all Thinking undoubtedly does: But how these Effects are produced we are wholly in the dark.

We see and feel, that Desires and Fears, that abstract Notions or Images of the Brain, alter the Disposition of the whole Fabrick, and often destroy the Contexture of it. We see that the Longings of Women with Child, will stamp Impressions upon the *Fœtus*, which Longings are certainly abstract Notions; and if these are not corporeal, then we must confess, that what is not so, will affect what is: For as to his Words *Substance* and *Subsistence*, I shall not pretend to understand them without a farther Explanation, if he means any thing by them besides Body. Methinks this truly worthy and learned Author should not call upon another, to solve what no Man is more capable of solving than himself. I freely own my Ignorance; and since, as I conceive, Revelation is silent in the Matter, am contented to continue in that Ignorance.

His other Argument is as follows: *If insensible Matter, or any other Being or Substance continually acting upon a Man, be the immediate and efficient Cause of his Actions, then the Motion of that subtle Matter or Substance must be caused by some other Substance*, I would chuse to call it some other Being, *and the Motion of that by*

some other, till at last we arrive at a free Being. Now if instead of the Words *free Being*, he had said a self-existent Being, which I call God, his Conclusion had been inevitable; nor do I oppose it in the Words he uses: But as we may possibly differ, and I doubt shall do, in the Meaning of the Words *free Being*, so I neither assent to, nor dissent from his Proposition. I mean, by a *feee Being*, one who has nothing, without itself, to determine or controul its Actions; which God has not, and I think Man has. His Conclusions, therefore from such Premisses are nothing to me.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IT is justly observ'd by Mr. *Locke*, and by Mr. *Hobbs*, and others before him, that we have no innate Ideas, nor can reflect upon them before we have them, that is, we cannot think before we have something to think upon. All Objects and Materials for thinking must be let in upon the Mind thro' the Organs of Sense; and when they are there, we reflect or reason upon them; or, to speak philosophically, when the Action of exterior Bodies strike upon us, they must cause a second Action or Motion, and continue it *in infinitum*, unless it meets Obstruction. This first Action

on cauſes Senſation, and the ſecond Reflection; and the firſt ſeems to me as neceſſarily to produce the latter, as the Wind fails a Ship, or the winding up of a Clock ſets it in Motion.

Every Syſtem of Matter has peculiar Organizations, and can perform only peculiar Functions. A Cow cannot perform the Offices of a Horſe, nor a Man of a Monkey; nor indeed, in many Inſtances, can one Man perform thoſe of another. As ſome Machines or Syſtems of Matter conſiſt of vaſtly finer and more numerous Parts than others, ſo they are capable of more Operations. A Watch which points to Minutes or Seconds has more Wheels, than one which only ſhews Hours; and a ſtriking or repeating Watch has more than both, though all are wound up by the ſame Key. Animals who conſiſt of infinite Tubes, Veins, Arteries, Muſcles, and Juices, which alſo conſiſt of infinite globular, and other figur'd Particles of Matter, muſt have ſuitable and very ſurprizing Operations, though all their Actions muſt be confin'd within the Circle of their Machine; but they will be multiply'd in equal or greater Degree than the Chances upon Dies: Two Dies have ſix times as many Chances as one, and three as two, and ſo on *in infinitum*; and therefore there ſeems to be no Difficulty in accounting for the great Variety of Actions in Animals more than in inferior Machines: And as Mankind never have, nor, I preſume, ever will diſcover all the Powers of mechanical Experiments, ſo with greater Reaſon one may venture to aſſert, that no A-

nimal ever yet has exerted all the Faculties it was endu'd with: A thouſand Dies may turn up all Sexes; but I believe this has never happen'd, nor I believe ever will.

Vegetables ſeem to me to be Analogous in many Reſpects to Animals: Their Generation appears to be much alike: They both riſe from Seeds, or Eggs, and continue their Kinds by the ſame: Their Life is continu'd alike, and their Nouriſhment convey'd through Veins, or other Tubes; and when that Nouriſhment ceaſes, they die; and as the Action of the Sun, or other Bodies, ſets the former in Motion, and cauſes that ſort of Senſation which we call Vegetation, ſo the ſame Power, or ſome other like it, ſeems to rouze animal Life, and ſets it in like Motion; and all Motion muſt be progreſſive in the ſame Syſtem till it is deſtroy'd, or that Syſtem becomes another, or part of another; which ſhall be more fully ſhewn hereafter.

This Action is call'd by different Names, as it affects the different Parts of the Machine. When it affects the Eye, it is call'd Seeing; the Ear, Hearing; the Palate, Taſting; the Noſe Smelling; which indeed are but different Sorts of Feeling: But when the Motion is continued farther, and gets to the Brain, or other internal Parts of the Syſtem, it cauſes that Effect which we call Thinking; which again operates within the Animal, and drives it to farther Action, which is always analogous to the Diſpoſition of the Fabrick, and regular, or irregular, according to the preſent Formaton of the Machine, and of the Powers which impel

impel it. And here we cannot enough admire the exquisite Skill of the supreme Architect, who has form'd such stupendious and amazing Works of his Omnipotence; and in many Instances, I conceive we should judge right if we only admir'd them, and not vainly attempted to find out what we can never know. We want Faculties to search the Causes of most Things in Nature, and know nothing of their internal Contexture, and but little of the *Modus* of their Operations. We see only some sensible Effects of the Actions of Bodies upon one another; but how they produce these Effects, we are utterly ignorant, and I believe ever shall be whilst we are in this State: We cannot tell why the Fire burns, the Grass grows, the Eye sees, the Ear hears, or the Mind thinks, only we find in fact, that they do so; and here is our *ne plus ultra*.

It is exceedingly imprudent therefore for Men to pretend to determine the Powers of Matter and Motion, when they know not what Matter is, of what Parts it consists, or indeed any thing about it, but by a few outward Effects; nor can we form any Notions of it but from those Effects, which yet probably do not exhaust the Millionth Part of its Powers: And it is still more ridiculous to use the Word *Spirit*, (of which we have no sort of Idea,) to account for other Things of which we have very little or no Idea neither, and in many Instances, deny what we see, to pretend to believe what we do not understand. Words are only the Signs of Images,

as Figures are of Numbers; and what Use is there of a Sound, or Scrall, which signifies nothing, or, which is the same Thing, which stands for what we know nothing of.

Now if a Man should ask a modern Philosopher, what he meant by the Word *Spirit*? he possibly will answer, that it is something which wants Extension and Solidity. If it be ask'd again, what Conception he has of any Thing which has neither Extension or Solidity? and he answers, that he has none at all, but that there may be Beings in Nature of which he neither has, nor can have any Idea: If then he be ask'd, why he uses a Word which has no Conception annex'd to it, to explain another Thing of which he is wholly in the dark? his Reply, I presume will be, that he cannot account for some Operations of that Being by the Images he had before conceiv'd of it, and the Definitions about it which he had been us'd to; and therefore he was forc'd to recur to negative Ideas. If he be ask'd again, how he knows that his Definitions are right, and take in all the Powers of that Being? he must acknowledge, that he knows not the Thousandth Part of its Powers; but yet perhaps will say, that he is very sure that it has not Powers inconsistent with the Nature of Body. It will be ask'd of him, how he, who knows little or nothing of the Nature of Body, can know what is against the Nature of Body? which Difficulty I shall leave to wiser Men to unriddle.

Now it appears to me, that there are many mechanical Operations of the Minds and Bodies of

of Animals, which result only from their peculiar Systems of Matter, or, in other Words, compounded Bodies peculiarly systematiz'd, attain new Qualities and Powers which they had not before, and which influence their own Actions, and the Actions of other Bodies, as necessarily as the Loadstone draws Iron, or the Root and Fibres of a Tree or Plant attract the Juices of the Earth, and convey them on till they are transmuted into Wood, Leaves, and Fruit. A Chick, or a young Pheasant, hatch'd in an Oven, as soon as it is out of the Shell, will eat Bread, or Emmet Eggs, and soon after shew Signs of Love or Fear, and shrink from Danger (like the sensitive Plant from the Touch) before it has gain'd any Experience, has any Sense of Injuries, or can know how it can be hurt. Birds hatch'd in a Cage will not only generate together, but will build their Nests in the same Manner, and of the same Materials with those of the same Kind, if they can come at them, without having seen any of the same Sort before. Infant Animals immediately seek the Teats of their Dams, without being taught to do so; and all Animals and Vegetables seek or attract the peculiar Nourishment that is proper to their Species, without any Direction but from Nature, and have the same Affections and Passions, with but little Variation; which I think plainly shews, that their particular Organizations, or Systems of Matter, by a natural Sort of Gravitation or Attraction direct their Operations; and though every Particular of the same Species differs in

ſome Reſpects from another, and conſequently their Actions will vary, yet they are all confin'd within the Limits preſcrib'd to the whole Species. And this Obſervation runs through all Nature.

Now I conceive this muſt be accounted for as above, or we muſt recurr to conſtant Miracle, or elſe ſuppoſe that God Almighty has given to every Species of Animals peculiar Minds different from all other Kinds, and to every Particular a Mind different from all the reſt of the ſame Kind; which guides and directs all its Actions, and makes all the ſpecifick as well as identical Differences we ſee: For which Suppoſition I can find no Foundation in Reaſon, or from Obſervation; nor can I perceive what Uſe can be made of ſuch a Conceſſion; for whether the Action of Animals are directed by the Diſpoſition of the Materials which form them, or they were originally conſtituted with ſuch Appetites, they muſt act the ſame Way; and this farther raiſes our Admiration of the Power and Providence of God, who has form'd all his Creatures in ſuch a Manner as to anſwer his Intentions in creating them; and has ſo diſpos'd the Mechaniſm and Juices of every living Species, as well as of every individual, as will beſt conduce to its Preſervation, and to perform the Function intended.

But here a notable Diſtinction ariſes between the Operations of the Mind, and thoſe in the Body, or in other Words, between Senſations and Reflections, between Appetites and Reaſonings; which I muſt beg leave to think

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in this Regard, has no Foundation in Nature, and only exists in metaphysical Brains. There can be no Sensations, Inclinations, or Appetites, without the Co-operation of that Faculty, Capacity, Energy, or whatever else it is that we call the Mind. Dead Men can no more hear, see, feel, &c. than a lump of Earth, because their Organization is destroy'd, or the animal Spirits which set them in Motion can no longer continue that Motion, or the separate Principle, call'd the Mind, can no longer keep its Habitation; but whatever it be, or by what Name soever call'd, it is certainly the *causa sine qua non* of the Actions of the Animal, and is one Link of the Chain of Causes which direct and govern his voluntary Motions.

'Tis the Mind which sees, hears, tastes, smells, feels, desires, or fears; and herein consists the Difference between Animals and Vegetables: They have both Life, and both have Organizations proper to preserve and continue that Life by suitable Nourishment convey'd through Veins and Tubes: Both have surprizing Operations, and unsearchable by our Capacities; and both must have a long Train of Causes from Nature to enable them to produce those Operations: but besides many other possible Causes link'd together in those Chains, and many of them existing within Animals themselves which we do not know, there is one which we do, namely, the Will or Desire to do a Thing; and this certainly, in a thousand Instances, depends upon Causes without us, and which are undoubtedly out of our Power; which Causes without, set the

other

other Cauſes within us at work, and produce the Will, and conſequently the Action.

A Chick, or young Pheaſant, would no more peck, or a Lamb ſuck, than if it was dead, if it did not intend to do it: It feels Uneaſineſs by Hunger, and ſtrives to help itſelf: It certainly ſhews Thought and Choice, in preferring one Sort of Food before another, and in ſhrinking or running away from Danger: And theſe are all Actions of the Mind. It is true, as it grows older, and its Contexture ſtronger, its Experience encreaſes, and its Capacity grows with it; but the Faculty is the ſame, and for any thing which appears to the contrary, reſults from the Formation of the Syſtem; nor can I conceive how all Birds, Beaſts, and Fiſhes of the ſame Species, ſhould have the ſame, or very near the ſame Senſations, Deſires, and Fears, and chuſe the ſame Kinds of Food and Means of Preſervation, and always uſe the ſame, or very near the ſame Addreſs, Cunning, or Artifice, unleſs their Contexture, the Diſpoſition of Materials and Juices, of which they are compos'd, by a natural Mechaniſm, produc'd theſe Effects, either by conſtituting or acting upon that Energy, call'd their Minds, and then directing and coercing thoſe Minds to exert the Faculty, call'd the Will, which produces the Action, if it may be lawful to diſtinguiſh an Operation of the ſame Power from its ſelf.

I am not aware of any other Objection to this Reaſoning, but that we can have no Conception how Matter can produce an Act or Operation of the Mind in Brute Animals, and therefore

therefore other Systems have been invented, equally unconceivable, to avoid this, and which apparently contradict Fact. It is plain, that their Minds are affected, altered, and receive Addition and Diminution by Diet, Physick, and Exercise, and partake, in many Respects, of the Fate of their material System; and their Faculties are greater or less, according to the Disposition of that System, as shall be more fully shewn in future Papers. And since the whole must consist of the several Parts, what Reasons can be assign'd to prove, that material Causes may create or produce the Parts and not the Whole, I mean of their Minds; for as to the Soul of Man, I shall consider it separately hereafter. For my own Part, I have had always so unfortunate a Turn of Thinking, that I could never subscribe to Opinions, because others held them before me; nor will I send into the Clouds for Solutions which lie under my Nose, or refuse the Benefit of my Eyes to amuse my Understanding, neither shall I regard the Calumnies and uncharitable Censures of those who dare not peep out of their dark Dungeons, and would measure all Truth by imbib'd Prejudices, but shall ever think, that I shall do more Honour to Almighty God in believing that he has so form'd at once the whole Fabrick of Heaven and Earth, as to produce all the Events he intended, than to suppose he has often found Cause to mend and alter his first Resolutions; tho' I confess it may consist with his Wisdom, and conduce to the Ends of his Providence, to suffer Matters,

ters, in some Respects, and at some Times, to appear to us in other Lights.

He certainly is a more skillful Artificer who can make a Watch which shall go for a thousand Years, and then break to Pieces at a stated Time, than another who makes one which must be wound up every Day, and mended every Month.

I am, &c.

SIR,

THE World has always run riot after one Whimsey or another: Astrology was the Madness of the last Age; and pretended Prophets, Fortune-tellers, Conjurers, Witches, Apparitions, and such like superstitious Fooleries, have been in request in all Ages: Dreamers of Dreams, led, misled, and governed Mankind for more than two Thousand Years together, and they are far from being out of Fashion yet: And it is no small Comfort, that this Sort of Divination and Instruction is left to us; for I do not find that any Society of Men pretend to have any Jurisdiction over sleeping Dreams, or to have the sole Conduct, Regulation, or Interpretations of them, but every Man when he is asleep, is left at liberty to dream as he can, and interpret his Dreams as he thinks fit; which Indulgence is not allow'd to our waking Dreams. I shall therefore

fore take the Advantage of this preſent Toleration of dreaming, to dream too; and though I will not vouch and be anſwerable for the Truth of my Dreams, yet I dare compare them with thoſe of the ancient and ſome modern Philoſophers.

I conceive, that the Divines of all Religions have ever agreed, That the Soul of Man is a Being ſeparate from the Body, and in its own Nature capable of ſubſiſting independent of it, and I alſo conceive, that all Chriſtian Divines hold, or ought to hold, that it is a diſtinct Being from what we call the Mind, and ſuperadded to it by the divine Goodneſs to diſtinguiſh Mankind from the Brute Creation, to continue his Being after the Diſſolution of the Body, and to make him an Object of future Rewards and Puniſhments; for 'tis certain, that other Animals have Minds too, and reaſon and reſolve, though in an inferior Degree to our ſelves; and I think alſo, that it is almoſt univerſally agreed, that thoſe Minds take the Fate of their Bodies, and die with them.

The Philoſophers of all Ages have ſet themſelves to work, and employ'd their Wits to trace the Minds of Brutes to their firſt Sources or Principles, and ſo to account for their Operations, but have differed as widely as they do in other Matters, about which they know nothing: Some have ſuppoſed them to be Modifications of Matter and Motion, and Operations reſulting from the Organization and Mechaniſm of the Body, like the ſtriking of a Clock, or Watch, or Muſick made by blowing

blowing into or ſtriking upon an Inſtrument; for as the Percuſſion of one Body againſt another makes Sound, ſo the Inſtruments or Vehicles upon which or through which it hits or paſſes, modify and determine the Species of it.

Theſe endeavour to illuſtrate the Power of voluntary Motion (*viz.* how a ſudden Impulſe of the Will can ſet a great Machine in Action) by what they think is analogous to it in mechanical Obſervations; as for Inſtance, a little Agitation of the Air will turn a Windmill, or ſail a great Ship; and 'tis demonſtrable in Mechanicks, that a Hair of a Man's Head, or a Puff of his Breath, by the Help of proper Springs, Wheels, and Pullies, may have Force enough to move a Body as big and as heavy as the World; and then they reaſon, that if the little Contrivance and trifling Experiment, we can make of the Powers of Matter and Motion, can convince us of its Capacity to produce ſuch ſurpriſing Effects and Operations, a Machine organized by the excellent Skill, and moſt wiſe Contrivance, of the ſupreme Architect, and conſiſting of ſuch ſubtle animal Spirits, and of ſuch Infinite Springs, Wheels, and Tubes, muſt have ſuitable Operations, and ſome of them ſuch as are not perceivable by our Senſes, or penetrable by our Capacities: They conceive there is ſomething in Vegitation analogous to animal Life, and that the Difference of the appearing Senſations between the higheſt Vegitable and the loweſt Animal (as for Example, between the ſenſative Plant and a Worm or Snail)

Snail) is so very little that they can account for them both by the same System of Reasoning, or rather, they are both equally unaccountable by our Reason: And therefore, since the former is undoubtedly only a Modus or Operation of Matter and Motion, they think we cannot know but the other may be so too.

Many Pretenders to Philosophy have thought the Mind of a Brute Animal to be Part of the Body, originally formed with it, and differing only from the other Parts, as it has a finer Contexture, and consists of more subtle and volatile Particles of Matter, that cannot keep together without their Case or Shell, and consequently cannot exist together in a separate State from the Body, but when the Organization and Mechanism of its Inclosure is dissolved or broke to Pieces, it must dissipate into the Mass of Matter again.

But the greater Number have thought, that there is an *Anima Mundi*, or Universal Spirit, that permeats and actuates all Matter, and is the Source of vegitable and animal Life, which receiving its Modification from, and assimilating it self to the Nature and Structure of the Body through which it passes, or in which it acts, constitutes all the specifick Effects and Operations which we daily see, feel, and admire; as in the Instances before given, the same Wind, blown into different Instruments, makes different Kinds of Musick.

Many of this latter Sort have fancied, that all Nature is full of organized Bodies, with each a particular and sufficient Portion of this universal and vital Spirit annex'd to or inherent

rent in them, which Bodies being in constant Motion fall gradually into peculiar Matrixes or Wombs, which are necessary to bring them to Perfection. They think the first Seeds of all Vegitables and Animals (which are indeed the Vegitables and Animals themselves) must have been formed at the Creation of the World; that the Seeds of the former must make their Progression thro' the Veins and Tubes of Vegitables of the same Kind, to prepare them to become Fruit, and to produce that grosser sort of Seed which more easily, and by another Motion, grows into the same kind of Plant or Tree again; and those of the latter must pass through the Body of the Male to awaken their first Life, who are sent to nurse into the Eggs, of the Female for Encrease and Expantion; and they conceive, that Experience confirms this Opinion, for that an Egg will not produce an Animal till the Male has thrown one into it; but afterwards, by the Assistance of that vital Warmth which it receives from a living Body, (or that Heat which is equivalent to it, and is necessary to preserve the tender Fibres and Juices of Infant Animals) it continues Life, nourishes and encreases it, till it swells and breaks out of its first Enclosure, and is strong enough to receive grosser Nourishment.

It seems to me, that the Generation or Production of Vegitables is analogous to, if not the same with that of Animals, and that they both receive their first Nourishment and Encrease in Eggs; and what are vulgarly called the Seeds of the former, are Eggs, that enclose the minute

minute Specks of Entity, which are its original Seeds or Principals, or rather the whole Plants or Trees in Migniature, nouriſh them for ſome Time, and defend them againſt the Injuries of exterior Bodies, when they firſt expand themſelves, and ſwell out of their native Beds, and their tender Parts become ſuſceptible of outward Violence. It is evident, that if we break up new or Maiden-Ground many Sorts of Vegitables will ſpontaneouſly ariſe, which have undoubtedly their proper Seeds in the Earth, and as undoubtedly none of thoſe groſs Seeds which produce the ſame Plant again; and it is plain, that the latter are ſubject to be deſtroy'd by exterior Accidents, and to decay and die, which the others are not, but very probably have had an unmoleſted Exiſtence from the Beginning of Time, and would have continu'd in their firſt State, if they had not received a Fermentation, and found a proper Matrix, by the opening the Fibres and Bowels of the Earth, and which muſt be a different Matrix from what multiplies the ſame Species afterwards.

There have been other Sects of Philoſophers (if Folly may be call'd by that Name) who have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by ſuppoſing the Mind and Soul to be the ſame Being, and conſequently enjoy'd in common by other Animals, as well as Men; and they have ſuppos'd this Being not only to be different too from the Body, and capable in its own Nature, not only of ſubſiſting independent of it, but believ'd that it receiv'd Prejudice, and was reſtrain'd from the free Uſe of many of its Faculties by

by its Impriſonment and Union with it; and yet, when it was diſcharg'd from its Goal, was at Liberty, capable or oblig'd to enter into ſome other organiz'd Body, and animate it, and perform the Functions of it. This was the Opinion of the Tranſmigrators of Souls formerly, but juſtly is rejected by very many Chriſtians; is contrary to Revelation, and would put Brute Animals upon a level with Mankind; for it cannot be deny'd that other living Creatures have Minds, and as certainly no Souls; nor are they capable of juſt or unjuſt Actions, or of receiving future Rewards and Puniſhments due to thoſe Actions.

It is certain they have Minds, and conſequently Thought, Reflection upon paſt Actions, or Memory; Senſations of Pleaſure and Pain; and in many Inſtances they judge well of their own Intereſts, and chuſe proper Means to attain them; and Mankind have not only the above Qualities in common with them, but poſſeſs them in a greater Degree, and over and above enjoy, by the Bounty of Heaven, immortal Souls, capable of continuing their Duration to all Eternity; of which ſome Traces are diſcoverable in our Nature, and the reſt are aſcertain'd to us by Revelation, which Man alone is capable of receiving: But how this ſuperadded Being operates upon, and controlls the Actions of the Mind and Body, we ſeem to be wholly in the Dark; but 'tis certain in ſome Reſpects they are all blended together, co-operate, and act as one Being, and therefore are anſwerable for their joint Actions, and are to take the ſame Fate at laſt, when they come to be united again. However, in this Diſcourſe it may be proper to conſider them

them separately, and not to impute the mechanical Operations of Matter and Motion immediately to our immortal Part, especially in such Instances as are the same, or analogous to the Actions of Brutes, who are wholly mortal.

Therefore, if we consider this Energy, or Principle, called a *Mind*, as separare from an human Soul, we shall find that it mingles with, animates, and informs the Bodies of Men, and of all Animals; and whether it is only a Modification of Matter and Motion; whether subtle, volatile, and elastick Particles of Matter, called Animal Spirits; if elementary Fire, or what the Ancients call'd *Anima Mundi*, or *Divinæ Particula Auræ*, that is, a Particle of the Soul of the Universe, or a Spark or Impulse of the Divinity, or whatever else it is, unknown to us, it is most certain, that its Power and Action over some Sorts of organiz'd Bodies is very surprizing, and not to be accounted for by any other System of Matter and Motion which falls within our Comprehensions; nor can I conceive it possible that it ever should be: For how should any Being trace its own Principles, and the Causes, which gave it Being, know what it was before it was, or be able to think how it came to think, unless by resolving all Thinking into the Power of its Creator. To know the *Modus* of Creation, is the next Step to Creation, and to a Creature's creating itself, or another Being like itself, and rendring the *Opus Operatum*, or the Work perform'd, equally, or near as valuable as the Artificer.

The Powers of this Principle are very stupendious. We seem to owe most, if not all our Sensations, Appetites, Affections, and Passi-

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ons to it, which obviously receive constant Alteration by the Addition of new and adventitious Particles of Matter, which must more or less be penetrated and inspir'd with this Spirit, which unites to what is call'd the Mind, as the grosser Parts do to the Body; for neither can grow but by Addition, or be lessen'd, but by Subtraction, tho' their Actions may be, and are often clogg'd by internal and external Impediments: Our Desires and Fears, which appear to direct, and indeed comprehend all the Actions of the Mind, are only Passions, or Perturbations of it, made by the Impressions of external or internal Causes; and what we call Judgment seems to me to be no more than a Struggle of those Passions, or, in other Words, the Ballance of the Conveniences or Inconveniences which will result from what we desire or fear, and the heavier Scale must weigh down.

When a proper Proportion of this active Force is duly diffus'd through the whole Machine, it will equally receive or resist the Impressions of Objects; the Passions will be alike ballanc'd, and consequently our Thoughts and Actions will be regular, and what we call prudent: But if there is too little to animate the Mass, or if it meets such Obstructions as hinders its Energy, it becomes Stupidity or Folly; but if it abounds, and over-informs its Tenement, or if it is unequally dispers'd, or is put or kept out of its proper Place by natural or accidental Obstructions, it causes Indiscretion, Extravagance, and, in a greater Degree, Madness; of which several Manners of

of Thinking, there are as many Kinds and Degrees as there are Irregularities in Man's Conduct; and I doubt there are few Men so equally temper'd, but they have, at different Times, more or less of all these Qualities by the unequal Supplies of this vital Spirit, or the occasional Obstructions it meets with. When we denominate a Man mad, or a Fool, we mean only, that he is more so than most others of his Species; for all Men at Times have a Mixture of both; and no Man's Actions will always bear the Test of just Reasonings; and if we could enter, and look into their private Thoughts, I doubt they would much less do so. All sudden Passions is temporary Madness, as continued Passion is continued Madness, and all Want of Apprehension is Folly.

Madness too is undoubtedly to be learn'd and acquir'd by Habit and Exercise, as well as Covetousness, Pride, Ambition, Love, Desire of Revenge, and other Qualities: All which, carried beyond a certain Degree, become Madness, as every thing else is, when Mens Desires or Fears, or the Means chosen to attain the one, or avoid the other, are extravagant, and above human Power or Prudence: Nor does Madness (as has been said) depend only upon wrong Organizations at first, or upon the original ill Temperament of the Juices by an undue Mixture or Superabundance of this active Spirit, but often upon the fortuitous Alterations which both receive afterwards by Diet, Physick, Action, or Accidents; for when those volatile Particles have been long diverted, and used to run in

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wrong and indirect Channels, proper ones will be closed up, and they will have no others to go in, which must over-load some, and starve the rest, and make their Operations as heterogenous and irregular as their Causes are; and daily Experience shews, that Men who have been long us'd to think, or act only in one Way, are very difficultly, if ever, put into another.

But of all the several Species or Kinds of Madness in the World, none is so flagrant, catching, and mischievous as the Madness of Enthusiasm, which is still the worse, as it adopts and puts on the Mask and Appearance of Zeal, and often passes for Sobriety and Inspiration, and consequently is incapable of a Cure, because it will not seek or accept a Remedy. This shall be the Subject of my two next Papers; and then my Dream will be out.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE suppos'd, in my last, that our Desires and Fears are Passions or Impressions made upon us by the Actions of other Beings, and that a due Ballance of those Passions, or equal Impressions, made upon the several Parts of the Machine, duly impregnated with vital Spirit, makes it act regularly, and consti-

conſtitutes what we call Prudence; but when it is over-inform'd, or irregularly inform'd, or thoſe Impreſſions are too ſtrong for the Machine to grapple with, it becomes Madneſs and Diſtraction; for the Truth of which, we need only appeal to Experience. Men of warm Conſtitutions are eaſily animated into Madneſs by fiery Liquors, and high Food, or by occaſional Strokes of good or bad Fortune; whereas thoſe, who have not a ſufficient Share of vital Spirit, are only elevated and rais'd to a proper Pitch by the former, or wholly depreſs'd by the latter, as wanting Vigour to reſiſt their Power, whilſt Nature, in the others, by an unequal Struggle and Contention with it, over-exerts itſelf, and diſorders and ſhakes the whole Machine.

This Hypotheſis receives farther Confirmation from the Methods uſually taken to cure Madneſs; namely, by Faſting, Bleeding, or Purging, which can operate only be removing, carrying off, or ſuffering to exhale or perſpire the ſuperabundant Particles of ſpirituous Matter, which over-charge and diſorder the Fabrick, till it receives a freſh Fermentation from the Addition of new Ones, when the Diſtemper again returns. Since therefore it is evident, that ſome of our thinking Faculties receive Addition and Diminution from the Action of other Bodies, and from many internal and external Cauſes, it muſt be equally evident that they muſt be mortal, or periſhable in their own Nature; for what is Mortality but a Being changing its Form, Shape, or State; and what is Immortality, but

its continuing always the same; and every Alteration makes it a different Being in some Respects from what it was before.

It seems therefore plain to me, that all of the Operations of our Minds do not flow from our immortal Souls; but many of them have much lower Sources: For what can be more absurd, than to suppose that what is immortal, and consequently not perishable, can be bleeded, purged, or starved away in whole or in part; or that a Being independent of Matter, that pervades and permeets all Matter, and yet (as it is said) has no Extension, nor takes up or fills any Place, can be acted upon by Matter, which we cannot conceive to act otherwise than by Contract or Impulse, and consequently cannot affect what it cannot touch mediately or immediately; that is to say, either by instant Action, upon an adjoining Body, or by striking or gravitating upon distant Ones, by the Communication of most or all which are intermediate. I do not pretend to describe the *Modus* of Gravitation, or to define how material Substances attract one another, whether by *Lucretius*'s System of hook'd Atoms, or by an elastick Principle that God has given to every Particle of Matter, which keeps it in constant Motion, and impelling all contiguous Parts; which Motion must force the more dense Bodies together, the more subtle and thin Ones not being able to resist their Power, and interrupt their Union.

It is highly probable, if not certain, that every Part of Matter is affected more or less by all Parts of Matter; and therefore greater

ter the Quantity is that is united together, the more it must impel some Bodies, and resist others; and when any Part of Matter are kept from having their full Influence and Operation upon a dense and aggregate Substance by the Interposition of another, acted upon by the Motion of Bodies encompassing it; then it seems evident, that those two Substances must meet together, unless some other Power hinders their Junction; for all circumambient Bodies having their full Force upon them, except in those Parts which look towards one another; and they still preserving their own Force and intrinsick Motion, they must necessarily gravitate, and more where they meet with the least Opposition. But whether this is the true Cause of Gravitation, or whether we shall ever know the Cause of it whilst we are in these frail Bodies; yet I conceive we are under no Necessity to recur immediately to the first Cause, when we cannot dive into his Manner of governing the Universe; nor, since we want Faculties to conceive how he has united the Soul to the Body, are we to determine it to be done in a Manner which apparently contradicts the Nature of both; but we ought to leave and submit those Searches to the secret Decrees of Providence, and to the Time of the last Resurrection, when our Minds and Bodies will be as immortal as our Souls, and when possibly all these Matters may be reveal'd to us.

I think therefore it is pretty evident, by what I have said in this Paper and the last, as well as from constant Observation, that Mad-

neſs is a Super-abundance of vital Spirits; which muſt burſt their Veſſel, if they do not overflow, or are let out by Tapping; but which Way ſoever they find their Evacuation, they generally ferment firſt, and make a terrible Combuſtion within. This is the Devil which haunts us, and often carries away Part of an empty Houſe, or blows it up. If he aſcends to our Garrets, or upper Regions, he diſorders the Brain, and ſhews Viſions, airy and romantick Images and Appearances, carries the Hero out of himſelf, and then ſends him armed *Capa-Pee* in wild Expeditions to encounter Windmills, and Giants of his own making; till at laſt he returns Home (if ever he returns Home) tranſported with his Victory, and in his own Opinion a moſt conſummate Knight-Errant.

Whenever the Mind cannot be confined within its Incloſure, but flies like *Phaeton* into the great Abyſs, and gives the full Reins to Imagination, it will quickly be carried out of its Knowledge, and will ramble about wherever Fancy, Deſire, or Viſion, leads it. It will quickly riſe above Humanity, and become proper Converſation for the Celeſtial Beings; and when once it can perſwade itſelf into ſuch Angelical Company, it will certainly deſpiſe all other, and the Owner will think he has a Right to govern them. If the Exceſs of any Paſſion is Madneſs, the Exceſs of them altogether is exorbitant and outrageous Madneſs; and whoever can get it into his Head, that he has ſecret Communications with the Deity, muſt have all his Paſſions

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at Work together. The Awe of a divine Presence must strike him strongly with Fear and Reverence: The Indulgence and Condescension shewn to him, must raise the highest Love, Adoration, and Transports of Joy: So visible a Partiality of the Deity to him beyond other Men in a weak Mind, must create Pride, and Contempt towards others: Such a Support and Assistance must inspire the highest Courage and Resolution to overcome all Opposition; and Hatred, and Revenge, to all who don't believe him, will bring up the Rear; and at last the Jumble of all these Passions, with many more, will make an accomplish'd Reformer of Mankind.

Religious Enthusiasm therefore is a flaming Conceit, that we have great personal Interest with the Deity, and that the Deity is eminently employed about us, or in us; that he warms and solaces our Hearts, guides our Understandings and our Steps, determines our Will, and sets us far above those, who have less Pride and more Sense than our selves. The Enthusiast heats his own Head by extravagant Imaginations, and then makes the All-wise Spirit of God, the Author of his hot Head; and having work'd up his Brains into the Clouds, despises and hates all that are below; and if he can, kills them, unless they submit to be as Mad as himself; for, because he takes his own Phrensy for Inspiration, you must be guided by his Phrensy; and if you are not, you are a Rebel to God, and 'tis ten to one but he has a Call to put you to Death.

I have but a bad Opinion of that Devotion which is rais'd by a craz'd Head, and can be improved by a Dram, and a hot Sun, or the Aſſiſtance of Wine, or can be leſſen'd by cold Weather, or by letting of Blood. It is great Madneſs, mix'd with Preſumption, to pretend to have the Spirit of God, unleſs we can ſhew it by doing Works, which only God's Spirit can do; that Spirit which can do all Things, but fooliſh Things. Enthuſiaſm is doubtleſs a Fever in the Head; and like other Fevers, ſpreading and infectious; and all the Zeal of the Enthuſiaſt, is only an Ambition to propogate his Fever.

You never knew a Madman of any Sort, who was not wiſer than all Mankind, and did not deſpiſe his whole Race, who were not bleſs'd with the ſame Obliquity of Head. Thoſe in *Bedlam*, think they are all mad who are out of it; and the Madmen out of *Bedlam*, pity the Madmen in it. The *Virtuoſo*, or Dealer in Butterflies, who lays himſelf out in the Science of blew and brown Beetles, thinks all Science but his own to be uſeleſs or trifling. The Collectors of old Books, are of Opinion, that Learning, which is intended to improve and enlighten the Underſtanding, is inſeparable from Duſt, and Dirt, and Obſcurity, or contemptible without them. The Pedant loads his heavy Head with old Words, and ſcorns all thoſe who are not accompliſh'd with the ſame Lumber.

Now all theſe Madmen, and many more, who might be added, are harmleſs Enthuſiaſts; and their Pride being part of their Madneſs,

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is only a Jeſt. But your holy Enthuſiaſt, is often a miſchievious Madman, who out of pure Zeal for God, deſtroys his Creatures, and plagues, and haraſſes, and kills them for their Good. The *Saracens*, a barbarous, poor, and deſart Nation, half-naked, without Arts, unskilled in War, and but half-armed, animated by a mad Prophet, and a new Religion, which made them all mad; over-run and conquer'd almoſt all *Aſia*, moſt part of *Africa*, and a part of *Europe*. Such Courage, Fierceneſs, and Miſchief, did their Enthuſiaſm inſpire. It is amazing how much they ſuffer'd, and what great Things they did, without any Capacity of doing them, but a Religion which was ſtrong in Proportion, as it wanted Charity, Probability, and common Senſe.

They ſaw rapturous Viſions in the Air, of beautiful Damſels richly attired, holding forth their Arms, and calling to them for their Embraces; and being animated by ſuch powerful Deities, no Enterprize was too hard for them: They ſcarce ever departed from any Siege, however inferior to it in military Arts or Numbers. Their conſtant Rule, was to fight till they had ſubdued their Enemies, either to their Religion, or to pay Tribute. They had God and his great Apoſtle on their Side, and were obſtinately determin'd to die, or to conquer; and therefore they always did conquer. And their Succeſs confirm'd their Deluſion; for finding that they performed greater Actions than any other Race of Mankind ever did, or could do, they believed themſelves aſſiſted by Heaven; and ſo eſteemed their Madneſs to be

Inſpiration. And then it was very natural to believe that they were the ſole Favourites of the Almighty; who interpoſed ſo miraculouſly in their Behalf, that they were employed to do his Work; and that all the good Things of this World, were but juſt Rewards of their Obedience; and conſequently it was their Duty to plunder, diſtreſs, kill, and deſtroy all who reſiſted the Will of God, and denied to give to them their undoubted Right.

Now what was able to withſtand theſe inſpired Savages, who if they lived and conquer'd, had this World, or, which was better if they were killed, had the next. They were ſure either of Empire or Paradiſe, and a Paradiſe too, which gratified their brutiſh Appetites. There is no dealing with an armed Enthuſiaſt; if you oppoſe real Reaſon to his wild Revelations, you are curs'd; and if you reſiſt him, you are kill'd. It ſignifies nothing to tell him, that you cannot ſubmit to the Impulſes of a Spirit, which you have not, and do not believe; and that when you have the ſame Spirit, you will be of the ſame Mind: No, perhaps, that very Spirit has told him that he muſt kill you for not having it, though you could no more have it, than you could be what you were not.

Don Quixote was a more reaſonable Madman: He never beat, nor famiſh'd, nor tortur'd the unbelieving *Sancho*, for having a cooler Head than his own, and for not ſeeing the extraordinary Miracles and Viſions which he himſelf ſaw. If a Man ſees Battles in the Air, or Armies riſing out of the Sea, am I

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to be perſecuted or ill uſed becauſe I cannot ſee them too, when they are not to be ſeen? Or ought not rather their diſtracted *Seer*, to be ſhut up in a dark Room, where no doubt he will have the ſame Sights, and be equally happy in his own Imaginations. As there is no reaſoning with an Enthuſiaſt, there is no Way to be ſecure againſt him, but by keeping him from all Power, with which he will be ſure to play the Devil in God's Name. I would not hurt him for his Ravings; but I would keep him from hurting me for not raving too.

All Men who can get it into their own Heads, that they are to ſubdue others to their Opinions, Reaſonings, and Speculations, are Enthuſiaſts or Impoſtors, Madmen or Knaves. Almighty God has given no other Light to Men to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, or Impoſture from Revelation, but their Reaſon; and in all the Addreſſes, he himſelf makes to them, appeals to that Reaſon. He has formed us in ſuch a Manner, as to be capable of no other kind of Conviction; and conſequently he can expect no other from us; therefore, it muſt be the laſt Degree of Impudence, Folly, and Madneſs, in impotent, fallible, and faithleſs Men, to aſſume greater Power over one another, than the Almighty exerciſes over us all.

The appointing Judges in Controverſy, is like ſetting People at Law about what they are both in Poſſeſſion of. A Man can have no more than all he is contending for; and therefore I can compare the Quarelling of two Men

about their Religion, to nothing elſe in Nature, but to the Battle between Prince *Volſius*, and Prince *Prettyman*, in the *Rehearſal*; becauſe they were not both in Love with the ſame Miſtreſs.

I am, &c.

SIR,

BESIDES the flaming Enthuſiaſm mentioned in our laſt, which is there ſuppos'd to be inſpired by a Super-abundance of Spirits, labouring for Evacuation; and ſhaking, diſordering, and ſometimes burſting its Tenement to get ready Vent, (like Gunpowder in a Granado or Mine; or, ſubterraneous Fire encloſed in the Bowels of the Earth:) There ſeems to me to be another ſort of religious Enthuſiaſm, not at all miſchevious, but rather beneficient to the World; and this has ſhewn it ſelf in ſeveral Ages, and under ſeveral Denominations. There is much to be read of it in the myſtick Writers in all Times. Hermits ſeem to be inſpir'd with it, and ſeveral Sects have built their innocent Superſtitions upon it; as the *Alumbrati* in *Spain*, the Quietiſts in *Italy*, the *French* Prophets lately amongſt us; and I doubt, a very great Party in *Europe*, call'd Quakers, owe their Riſe and Increaſe to it. And having mention'd this laſt Sect, I think my ſelf

ſelf obliged to declare, that I eſteem them to be great, induſtrious, modeſt, intelligent, and virtuous People; and to be animated with the moſt beneficent Principles of any Sect, which ever yet appeared in the World. They have a comprehenſive Charity to the whole Race of Mankind, and deny the Mercies of God to none. They publickly own, that an univerſal Liberty is due to all, are againſt Impoſitions of every Kind; and yet patiently ſubmit to many themſelves, and perhaps are the only Party amongſt Men, whoſe Practiſes, as a Body, correſpond with their Principles.

I am not aſhamed to own, that I have with great Pleaſure read over Mr. *Barclay*'s Apology for Quakeriſm, and do really think it to be the moſt maſterly, charitable, and reaſonable Syſtem that I have ever ſeen. It ſolves the numerous Difficulties raiſed by other Sects; and by Turns, thrown at one another, ſhews all Parts of Scripture to be uniform and conſiſtent; and as Sir *Iſaac Newton*, by allowing him Gravitation, has accounted for all the Phœnomena of Nature, ſo if we allow to Mr. *Barclay* thoſe Operations of the Spirit, which the Quakers pretend to feel, and which he ſays every Man in the World has and may feel, if he watches its Motions, and does not ſuppreſs them: Then I think all the jangling vain Queſtions, numerous Superſtitions, and various Oppreſſions, which have plagued the World from the Beginning, would ceaſe and be at an End.

But this Poſtulatum will not be granted, and I fear will never be prov'd, though ſuch a Diſcovery is much to be wiſhed, and the O-

pinion

pinion of it alone, must render those very happy who can persuade themselves that they have attained to it. Mr. *Asgil* wrote and publish'd a Book to prove, that all true Believers, (that is all who had attained a Spirit like to this,) shall be translated without passing through Death; and, as I doubt not, but he believed his own Dream himself; so if he had published it before any Man had actually died, I cannot see how it could have been answer'd, or how it can be answered now, but by opposing Fact to it, and by making the Words *Eternal Death*, signify Eternal Life in Torments, which Liberty no Language will bear in other Disputes; and yet his Doctrine cannot be assented to without supposing, that no Man ever had Faith but *Elias* and *Enoch*; which is a very wild Supposition.

For the same Reason, I cannot concur with Mr. *Barclay*, in believing that all Men who cannot find this Spirit in themselves, do or have suppressed it; for I believe there are many Thousands in all Respects, equally virtuous with himself, who have actually tried all Experiments of Watching, internal Prayer, outward and inward Resignation, Separation from worldly Thoughts and Actions, and Acquiescence of Mind, and Submission to the Operations of the Deity; and yet have found themselves, after all, just where they set out; nor could recollect any Thing that happened to them in those Intervals, but Absence of Thought; and therefore, till I can feel something in my self, or discover some Traces in others, which I cannot account

count for from lower Motives, I shall take the Liberty to call the Pretenders to it, Enthusiasts, though, I must confess, that all or most religious Parties have laid Claim to this Spirit upon certain Occasions, and have bestowed it upon their Founders, or particular Men amongst them; and the Quakers only say, all Men have it, and may exert it, or rather permit it to exert itself if they please.

It is supposed that the Power so claimed, is Jesus Christ operating within us; and as it is allowed by all that the least Drop of his natural Blood was enough to attone for the Sins of the whole World; so one might imagine that the least Portion of his Godhead, working within us, might be too hard for and overcome the Depravity transmitted to us by our first Parents, or at least be able to engage our Attention or Acquiescence, which is all that is supposed requisite to the farther Progress and Effusion of his Deity. It is very hard to conceive, that we can serve God by sequestring for a Time all the Faculties he has given us; by sending our Wits out of Doors to make Room for Grace, and by believing that the Spirit of God will never exert itself but in an empty Head; and therefore I shall presume to believe, till I am better informed, that as the Almighty shews and exhibites to us the visible World by the Medium of the outward Senses he had before given to us, so he dispenses all that we do know or can know of the invisible One, thro' the Vehicles of our reasoning Faculties.

We

We have not yet been able thoroughly to discover any Vacuum in Nature, but as soon as any Body gets out of a Place, another leaps in; therefore if a Man can once drive his Wits out of House and Home, some other Being of a different Kind will certainly get into their Room, and Wind is always at Hand crowding for Preferment, which, in various Shapes, has a great Share in human Transactions, and always has contributed much to the great Revolutions in Empire and Superstition, which have often overturned the World. But to return to my Dream.

A Clock, or other Machine, made by a skillful Artist, will have certain and regular Motions, whilst it continues in that State; but if it gathers filth, meets with Obstructions, or its Springs and Wheels decay and wear out by Time, or are hurt by Accidents, it moves irregularly, or not at all. Experience proves the same in the Mechanism of Animals, who have infinitely finer Contextures, as consisting of Thousands of Tubes, Veins, Arteries, Nerves, and Muscles, every one of which, in a certain Degree, contributes to the Operations of the living Engine; and as all these are more tender and delicate, and consequently more susceptible of Injuries, than the Parts which constitute and give Motion to other organiz'd Bodies, so they are much more easily put out of Order; and we find in Fact, that a Cold which stops Perspiration, and hinders the Evacuation of the super-abundant Particles of Matter, disorders the whole Fabrick, clogs and interrupts its Action; and

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those Effluviums which cannot find their proper Vent through the Pores, over-shadow and oppress the Brain, and render the Mind unactive, and incapable to perform its Functions, till they are let out by larger Passages, as by bleeding, or vomiting, or forced out by sweating, or other violent Action, or by fasting, and taking in no new Supplies, there is Time given to them leisurely to expire; but if they require quicker Vent than these Conduits can give, then Fevers, or other violent Distempers ensue, when the Brains of Men are so oppress'd, that they see Visions, Appearances of Angels, Demons, and dead Men, talk incoherently, and sometimes surprizingly, and have obviously different Sensations, Affections, and Reasonings, from what they have at other Times.

The same is true of Madmen, who through wrong Organizations at first, or the Indisposition of the Organs, afterwards perswade themselves that they are Princes, Prophets, or Messengers from Heaven; and certainly often utter Flights, and Sallies of Imagination, which are amazing, and that never fall from them in their lucid Intervals, and which have often passed upon the World for Inspiration; insomuch, as in several Ages, and in several Countries in our Age, they have been, and are thought to be divinely inspired. Now Madness shews itself in a thousand Shapes, and as has been said in my former Paper, there is scarce a Man living, but at Times has more or less of it, though we denominate it from a Train of irregular Actions, and many

many kinds of it certainly do not fall within common Obſervation, or ſcarce within any Obſervation.

When we ſee Men in the main of their Conduct ſeemingly act with Prudence in ſuch Things as we underſtand, we are apt to take their Words in ſuch Things as we do not underſtand, eſpecially if we ſee them do ſuch Actions, ſhew ſuch Emotions of Spirit, and emit ſuch Diſcourſes as we cannot otherwiſe account for, though we perceive the ſame done by Men in known Diſtempers, and in Sleep, and often feel it in our ſelves: For it is incredible to thoſe who have not ſeen or obſerv'd it, what Energy and Strength Men ſhew in Convulſive Diſtempers, when too they often vent ſurprizing Diſcourſes, without knowing what they ſay; and there are few Men, who do not ſometimes ſtrike out ſudden and extemporary Thoughts and Expreſſions, without being able to obſerve by what Traces they came into their Minds; and fanciful and conceited Men eaſily perſuade themſelves, or are perſuaded by others, to believe that at thoſe Times they are inſpir'd from Above.

But if we compare Things we do not know, with thoſe we do, I think we may account for them both by the ſame Principles in Nature. Men, as has been ſaid, in Sleep ſee Viſions, hold Diſcourſes, and ſometimes very good Ones, with Phantoms of their own Imaginations, and can walk about, climb over Houſes and Precipices, which no Man who is awake durſt venture to do. Men in Diſtempers ſee Spirits, talk and reaſon with them, and often

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fancy themſelves to be what they are not. Melancholy Men have believ'd that they were Glaſs Bottles, Pitchers, Bundles of Hay, Prophets, and ſometimes, that they were dead; and yet, in all other Actions of Life, have behav'd themſelves with Diſcretion; and as theſe Things have happen'd often, few or none are ſurpriz'd at them, and therefore treat them only as Subjects of Jeſt or Merriment: But if they had happen'd but once, or ſeldom, we ſhould either not have believ'd them, or have recurred to Miracle or Witchcraft for the Solution. No Man wonders at the Sun's Riſing every Day, and yet all are amaz'd and frighten'd by ſeeing a blazing Star once in their Life-time, tho' that is certainly the leſs Wonder of the two.

Now what Stretch will it be upon our Imagination, to believe that once in an Age, or more, a catching Diſtemper of the Mind ſhould actuate a Man or two, and communicate itſelf afterwards to others of the ſame Complexion, the ſame Temperament of Juices, and conſequently the ſame Diſpoſitions of Mind, which certainly are as infectious as thoſe of the Body, tho' not ſo obſervably. We aſſimilate to the Paſſions, Habits, and Opinions of thoſe we converſe with, and their Tempers are catching. This indeed is not true in all Inſtances; neither does a Plague infect every Body, but only thoſe who have proper Juices, and ſuitable Diſpoſitions of Body to receive it. We ſee often, that the yawning of one Man, will make a whole Company yawn; and the Sight of Men in convulſive Diſtempers will

will throw others into the ſame; as many People were agitated with the ſame Motions and Spirit of Prating, who went to ſee the *French* Prophets fall into their Trances, with a Deſign only to divert themſelves, which Trances undoubtedly were an unuſual Kind of Epileptick Fits, which often actuate the Organs of Speech without the Patient's knowing it, and have often been miſtaken for divine Trances, and their incoherent Rapſodies been eſteem'd Revelations.

If we may believe Mr. *Barclay*, and Mr. *George Keith*, in his *Magick of Quakeriſm*, (who was once of that Sect, and afterwards took Orders in the Church of *England*,) the ſame thing has happen'd to many others who went to inſult the Quakers, and were caught by their Shakings, Groanings, and the Solemnity of their ſilent Meetings, and became afterwards ſteady Converts. I think it is *Thucidides*, who tells us, That at *Abdera*, a City in *Greece*, upon a hot Day, all the Spectators who were preſent in the Theatre to ſee *Andromache* acted, were ſuddenly ſeiz'd with a Madneſs, which made them pronounce Iambicks; and the whole Town was infected with the Diſtemper, which laſted as long as that Weather continued. And he tells us too of another ſort of Madneſs, which ſeiz'd the young Women of *Athens*, many of whom kill'd themſelves; and the Magiſtrates could not ſtop the Contagion, till they made a Decree, that thoſe who did ſo ſhould be expos'd, and hung up naked. There ſeems to be no Difficulty, in conceiving that the Effluviums, which ſteam from the Body

Body of an Enthuſiaſt, ſhould infect others ſuitably qualify'd with the ſame Diſtempers, as Experience ſhews us, that the minute Particles, which are convey'd by the Bite of a mad Dog, cauſe Madneſs, and will make the Perſon infected bark like the Dog who bit him; and ſuch Particles in other Inſtances may be convey'd through the Pores, and in a common Inſtance undoubtedly are ſo; for many People will ſwoon if a Cat is in the Room, tho' they do not ſee her. And all infectious Diſtempers muſt be communicated by thoſe Paſſages.

Some Diſtempers, or Diſpoſitions of Body, make Men rave; others make them melancholy: Some give them Courage, Impetuoſity, prodigious Energy of Mind, and rapturous Thoughts and Expreſſions; others ſink and depreſs their Spirits, give them pannick Fears, diſmal Apprehenſions, melancholy Images, and ſecret Frights; and they will all account for ſuch Senſations from their former imbib'd Prejudices by early Education, and by long Uſe became familiar to them. One of theſe Diſtempers will make a flaming falſe Prophet, and the other a deſpairing Penitent, in ſpite of the Mercies of God; and afterwards Phyſick, or Abſtinence, ſhall cure the firſt, and a Bottle of Wine, now and then moderately and chearfully taken, in agreeable Company, ſhall make the other a Man of this World again.

Opium in different Conſtitutions will work both theſe Extremes, and other Drugs will give

give temporary Madneſs. The Oricular Prieſts of old well underſtood this Secret of Nature. The High Prieſteſs of *Delphos* ſuck'd Inſpiration from the Fumes of an intoxicating Well, which diſorder'd her Brain, made her rave, and utter incoherent Speeches, out of which ſomething was found out to anſwer the devout Queriſt, and tell the Meaning of the God: And in the Temple, as I remember, of *Amphiaraus*, where Oracles were convey'd in Dreams, the humble and ſubmiſſive Votary was let down into a deep Hole, that had ſeveral fantaſtical Apartments, where he ſaw Sights and Apparitions, which his Mind was prepar'd to receive before by Phyſick, ſuitable Diet, and ſometimes by Faſting; and then he was wrapp'd up in the Skins of Victims, rubb'd and impregnated with intoxicating Drugs, which made him Dream moſt reverendly; and when he related his Viſions, it was very hard Luck if the Prieſts could find nothing in them for their Purpoſe; but if that happen'd to be the Caſe, the ſame Operation was tried over again; and if they had no better Fortune then, the God was angry with the impious Seeker for his Sins, and ſo was become ſullen, and the poor Miſcreant was ſent away as an excommunicate Perſon, (if he had the good Luck to eſcape ſo,) and perhaps hang'd himſelf in his Way home.

We ſee and feel, by conſtant Experience, that our Thoughts in Dreams are laſcivious, frightful, or pleaſing, according to the Temperament of our Bodies, the Food we eat, or as our Spirits are oppreſs'd or cheriſh'd by it.

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We see too, that drunken or distemper'd Men are overcome by Liquour, or Disease, and made to talk, reason, and act differently from what they do in Sobriety and in Health; and we all confess such Discourses and Actions to be the Indispositions of their Organs, and the Operations of external or internal material Causes, and will yet not account for other Sensations equally extravagant from like Mediums, though we cannot shew any Difference between them: However, as it is not to be deny'd, but Almighty God has sometimes communicated himself to particular Persons by secret Impressions upon their Senses and Understandings, so I dare not affirm, that he may not, and does not do so still; nor will I dogmatically assert, that any one who pretends to feel his divine Spirit, is a Lyar or Enthusiast; but I think I may safely affirm, that no one is concern'd, in his Visions or Revelations but himself, unless the other feels them too, or he can prove the Truth of them by Miracles.

Almighty God, as has been said, has given to us Reason to distinguish Truth from Falshood, Imposture from Revelation, Delusion from Inspiration; and when we quit that Light, we must wander through endless Mazes and dark Labyrinths, and ramble wherever Fancy, Imagination, or Fraud, leads us. If Mr. *Barclay* had meant, only by the Testimony of the Spirit, that natural Faculty, or Principle, that the Deity has inspir'd into all Men to regulate their Actions, and to acknowledge his Divine Bounty, (which Principle I call Reason,) and could have reconcil'd the Work-

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ings of his Light to the only one I can find in my self, I could readily have subscrib'd to a very great Part of his System; for I must confess it to be most beneficent to the World, in my Opinion, most agreeable to the Scriptures, and makes them, or rather shews them, to be most consistent with themselves, and comprehends every Thing which has been since said by the best Writers for Liberty of Conscience, and against all Sorts of religious Impositions. And this he has done with as much Wit, happy Turn, and Mastery of Expression, as is consistent with the Plainness and Simplicity affected by those of his Sect, and for the most part used in the holy Writings.

I am, &c.

SIR,

I KNOW well, that any one must run a great deal of Hazard, who shall advance any Opinions against what is vulgarly call'd Charity, though it be ever so much mistaken or miscall'd, as for the most Part it is, and ever has been. The giving loose Money in the Streets to canting and lazy Beggars, has obtain'd the Name of Charity, though it is generally a mischievous Liberality to encourage present Idleness, or to reward past Extravagancy, and is forbid by severe Laws. The Founding

Founding of Monasteries, Nunneries, and other miscall'd Religious Houses, has pass'd too upon the World in late Ages for Charity, though they have ever prov'd Seminaries of Superstition and of Papal Tyranny, Discouragements of Matrimony, the Sources of Depopulation, and have made Multitudes of People useless to the World, and to themselves: The giving Lands and Revenues to saucy, aspiring, and lazy Ecclesiasticks, has been reputed meritorious Actions; and yet they have ever destroy'd Religion, increas'd the Pride and Domination of the Clergy, and depress'd, impoverish'd, and enslav'd the Laity, for whose Sakes alone there ought to be any Ecclesiasticks at all. The Founding and Endowing Universities, Colleges, and Free-Schools, carries an Appearance of promoting Sciences, Learning, and true Religion; and yet they have been made use of to promote the Kingdom of Antichrist, to debauch the Principles of the Nobility and Gentry; to deprave their Understandings; advance learned Ignorance; load their Heads with airy Chimera's and fairy Distinctions; fill States with desperate Beggars and Divines of Fortune, who must force a Trade for Subsistance, and become the Cudgels and Tools of Power or Factions. A learned Author justly compares these Establishments to the *Trojan* Horse, which carried Hosts of armed Men within its Bowels, to send them out afterwards to destroy Kingdoms.

But there is another new-fangled Charity risen up amongst us, called *Charity-Schools*, which, I think, threatens the Publick more than

than all which I have mention'd. I would not be underſtood to condemn every Thing of that Nature; for, under a proper Regulation, ſomething like it may be commendable: But, as they are now employ'd and manag'd, I can ſee no Good that can accrue to the Publick from them, but apprehend a great deal of Miſchief. Theſe Eſtabliſhments were firſt begun and encourag'd by pious Men, and many of them Diſſenters; and then our High Clergy every where exclaim'd againſt them as dangerous Innovations, and Attempts to ſubvert the Church, and the National Religion: But now that they have got them under their own Management, and they really prove what they foretold they would prove, they make continual Harangues and Panegyrical Elogiums upon them, and upon the Perſons who promote them: It is become Part of their Duty, (and much better executed than all the reſt,) to prate People out of their Money; to decoy ſuperſtitious and factious Men out of their Shops and their Buſineſs, and old doting Women out of their Infirmaries, to hear too often ſeditious Harangues upon the Power of the Clergy, and of the Reverence due to them, and upon the Merit of nurſing up Beggars to be the blind Tools of ambitious Pedants; and Lectures and Inſtructions are there given them, inconſiſtent with our preſent Eſtabliſhment of Church and State; and we have ſcarce a News-Paper but gives Notice of Sermons to be preach'd upon this Occaſion.

It is certain there was almoſt every where a general Deteſtation of Popery, and Po-

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piſh Principles, and a noble Spirit for Liberty, at or juſt before the Revolution; and the Clergy ſeem'd then as zealous as the foremoſt: But when the corrupt Part of them found themſelves freed from the Dangers they complain'd of, and yet could not find their ſeparate and ſole Advantage in the Revolution, they have been continually attacking and undermining it; and ſince they ſaw it was impoſſible to perſuade thoſe who were Witneſſes and Sufferers under the Oppreſſions of the former Governments, wantonly, and with their Eyes open, to throw away their Deliverance, they went a ſurer and more artful Way to Work, though more tedious and dilatory; and therefore have, by inſenſible Degrees, corrupted all the Youth whoſe Education has been truſted to them, and who could be corrupted; ſo that at the End of near forty Years, the Revolution is worſe eſtabliſh'd than when it began: New Generations are riſen up, which know nothing of the Sufferings of their Fathers, and are taught to believe, there were never any ſuch: The Dread of Popery is almoſt loſt amongſt us; the vileſt Tenets of it are openly aſſerted and maintain'd; Men are taught to play with Oaths; and it is become faſhionable to revile Authority more for its commendable Actions, than for its Exceſſes: The Principles of our Nobility and Gentry are debauch'd in our Univerſities, and of our common People in our Charity-Schools, who are taught, as ſoon as they can ſpeak, to blabber out *High Church* and *Ormond*; and ſo are bred up to

be Traytors, before they know what Treaſon ſignifies.

This has been long ſeen, and as long complain'd of; and yet no Remedy has been apply'd, tho' often promis'd: Thoſe, whoſe Duty and Buſineſs it ought to have been, have had their Time and Thoughts ſo wholly engag'd in modelling Factions, and enriching themſelves, that this great Evil has been ſuffer'd to go on, and ſtill goes on; it has been continually increaſing, and yet increaſes; but I hope, at laſt, that thoſe in Authority will take the Alarm, will think their own Safety, and the Safety of his Majeſty and his People, are highly concerned to remove a Miſchief which is levell'd at all their, and our, Happineſs; and that they will not, like their Predeceſſors, diſoblige all their Friends to gratify their Enemies, whom yet they cannot gratify. If this is not done, any one, without much Skill in Politicks, may ſafely affirm, That our preſent Eſtabliſhment cannot long ſubſiſt. A free Government muſt ſubſiſt upon the Affections of the People; and if thoſe Affections are perpetually debauch'd; if the Education of Youth is all againſt it, and it muſt depend only upon Converts, Penſions, or Armies, its Duration cannot be long, without a conſtant Succeſſion of Miracles: Armies will ſoon find their own Strength, and will play their own Game: Foreign Armies will neither be thought on, nor born; and 'tis to be fear'd, that domeſtick Ones, upon every Diſguſt, or Proſpect of Advantage, may fall into the Intrigues and Reſentments of their Country-

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men when they grow to be general, and consequently will be of least Use when most wanted: We cannot, sure, so soon forget what the Parliament-Army did formerly, and King *James*'s lately, and what was expected from our own in the late Conspiracy; and without such Expectations, it had been direct Madness to have form'd or engag'd in such an Attempt, and the Criminals had been more properly sent to *Bedlam* than to *Tyburn*, though they deserv'd both.

But to apply my self more immediately to the Charity-Schools, I shall endeavour to shew, that under the false Pretence and Affectation of Charity, they destroy real Charity, take away the usual Support and Provision from the Children of lesser Tradesmen, and often of decay'd and unfortunate Merchants and Gentlemen, and pervert the Benevolence, which would be otherwise bestow'd upon helpless Widows, and poor House-Keepers, who cannot by reason of Poverty, maintain their Families.

Every Country can maintain but a certain Number of Shop-Keepers, or Retailers of Commodities, which are raised or manufactured by others; and the fewer they are, the better; because they add nothing to the publick Wealth; but only disperse and accommodate it to the Convenience of Artificers, Manufacturers, and Husbandmen, or such who live upon their Estates and Professions; and serve the Publick only by directing and governing the rest; but as there must be many Retailers of other Men's Industry, and the

greateſt Part of them will be but juſt able to ſupport themſelves; with great Pains, Frugality, and Difficulty breed up their Families, and be able to ſpare ſmall Sums out of their little Subſtance to teach their Children to write and caſt Accompt, and to put them out Apprentices to thoſe of their Degree; ſo thoſe Employments ought to fall to their Share; but now are moſtly anticipated, and engroſs'd by the Managers of the Charity-Schools; who out of other People's Pockets, give greater Sums than the others can afford, only to take the loweſt Dregs of the People, from the Plough and Labour, to make them Tradeſmen, and by Conſequence drive the Children of Tradeſmen to the Plough, to beg, to rob, or to ſtarve.

The ſame may be ſaid of Servants, who are generally the Children of the leſſer Shop-Keepers, though ſometimes of decay'd Merchants and Gentlemen, who have given them an Education above the lower Rank of People, which has qualified them to earn a comfortable Subſiſtence this Way, without much Labour; to which they have never been uſed. Now I have often heard, that one Advantage propoſed by theſe Charity-Schools, is to breed up Children to Reading and Writing, and a ſober Behaviour, that they may be qualified to be Servants: A Sort of idle and rioting Vermin, by which the Kingdom is already almoſt devoured, and are become every where a publick Nuiſance, and Multitudes of them daily, for Want of Employment, betake themſelves to the Highway, Houſe-breaking, others

others Robbing and Sharping, or to the Stews; and must do so, if we study new Methods to encrease their Numbers.

I have mentioned another Mischief which has flowed from this pretended Charity; for it has in Effect, destroyed all other Charities, which were before given to the Aged, Sick, and Impotent. I am told, there is more collected at the Church-Doors in a Day, to make these poor Boys and Girls appear in Caps and Livery Coats, than for all other Poor in a Year; and there is Reason to presume, that less still is given to private Charities, where the Givers are almost the only Witnesses of their own Actions; so that this Benevolence is a Commutation or Composition for what was formerly given to Widows, Orphans, and to broken and unfortunate House-Keepers. And how should it be otherwise, when the Clergymen in highest Repute, strole about from Church to Church, and print publick Advertisements of Charity Sermons to be preached, recommending the Merit of this Sort of Liberality, the Service it does to God and the Church; and but faintly, or perhaps not at all, exhorting to any other, insomuch, that the Collections made every Winter, by Virtue of the King's Letter, for the many Miserable in this great Town, visibly decrease, though these Collections are made from House to House, though the Names of the Givers, and Sums given, are entered down, and though all Ministers are directed by his Majesty and the Bishop of *London*, in their Sermons, to press this Charity upon

their Congregations, which is notwithstanding, seldom done, but in a faint Manner, perhaps, at the End of a Sermon; whereas, on the other Occasion, the Ears of the Auditors are deafned with the Cry of the Preacher, and their Passions are all inflamed to a profuse Liberality; and those who do not give, and give largely too, must incur Reproach and Contumely.

Oh! but say some pious, and many more impious and hypocritical People, What would you hinder poor Boys and Girls from being well cloathed, from serving God, and being bred Scholars? To which I answer, That there are few Instances, in which the Publick has suffer'd more, than in breeding up Beggars to be what are called Scholars; from the grave Pedant and the solemn Doctor, down to the humble Writer and Caster of Accompts; to attain which Characters does not require the Pains and Acuteness that are necessary to make a good Cobler; and yet they immediately fancy themselves to be another Rank of Mankind, think they are to be maintained in Idleness, and out of the Substance of others, for their fancied Accomplishments; are above Day-Labour, and by an idle Education, require a Listlessness to it; and when they can't find the Sort of Subsistance they aspire to, are always perplexing the World, and disturbing other People; so that no Education ought to be more discountenanc'd by a State than putting Chimera's and airy Notions into the Heads of those who ought to have Pickaxes in their Hands; and teaching People to read,

write,

write, and cast Accompt, who, if they are employed as they ought to be, can have no Occasion to make use of them, unless it be now and then to read the Bible, which they seldom or never do; and besides, are told by their spiritual Guides, that they must not understand it.

What Benefit can accrue to the Publick, By taking the Dregs of the People out of the Kennels, and throwing their Betters into them? By lessening the Numbers of Day-Labourers, by whose Industry alone, Nations are supported, and the publick Wealth encreased? To multiply the Number of such who add nothing to it, but must live out of the Luxury of the rest? To take Boys and Girls from the low and necessary Employments of Life, make them impatient of the Condition they were born to, and in which they would have thought themselves happy, to be Sempstresses, Footmen, and Servant Maids, and teach them to read Ballads? How much more useful a Charity would it be, to give the same Sums to their Parents to help them to raise their Families, and breed up their Children to Spinning or Hard-Labour, to help to maintain themselves, and to depend for the future upon their own Hands for Subsistance? Whereas, this Sort of Charity is of no Use, Benefit, or Ease to their Parents, who must find them Meat, Drink, Washing, and some Clothes, the whole Time they spend at School, and lose, at the same time, the little they can otherwise earn, or what they would earn themselves, whilst they employ

their Children in going on Errands, and doing little Offices, which they can do as well? And all this for the Pleasure of seeing them a little better Cloathed, hearing them sing Psalms, and repeating by Rote a Catechism made for that Purpose.

The Pretence that this Sort of Education will render them more useful Members of Society, and will make them more virtuous and religious, is a meer Chimera. How many are hanged at *Tyburn* that can write and read; or rather how few that cannot? And generally they all die for High Church, and for the Right Line! Who are greater Rogues than Scholars, as they are called? And what Set of People have supplied the Town with more Whores than our spiritual Fathers, who all have the Practice of Piety by them? Nothing keeps the Herd of Mankind so honest, as breeding them up to Industry, and keeping them always employed in Hard-Labour, and letting them have no Time or Inducements from Necessity to rob, cheat, or Superfluities to debauch with. Who are the Persons who have the Conduct, and are at the Head of these Charity-Schools? Are they Men of the most exemplary Piety and Morals? No, I am told the quite contrary: They are, for the most Part, staunch *Jacobites*, or, in other Words, furious High-Church-Men; often Men of debauched Lives and Principles; and the Masters of these Schools are generally Enemies to the Establishment. And what Use do they make of their Power? Why! they supply the Children with what they

they want out of their own Shops; get Credit and Interest amongst their Neighbours, for their charitable Disposition; make use of that Credit to promote Disaffection to the Government; engage the Parents and Friends of the Children in the Interest of a Popish Pretender, and breed up the Children themselves to fight his Battels in due Time.

I have been very much diverted to see, now and then, one of these Poor Creatures skip over a Kennel as nimble as a Greyhound, to get to the other Side of the Way, that it may be ready to make a low Bow to a Parson as he passed by; which Order of Men they are taught almost to adore; and I have been often told, (though I do not affirm, and can scarce believe it to be true,) that their Duty to the Clergy is inserted in a Catechism that is or has been taught them; but whether such a Catechism is committed to Print or Writing, or not, it is certain their Duty to God is not half so much, I will not say, inculcated into them, but observ'd by them, as the Reverence and Respect which they are made to believe is due to these Holy Men. And what Use will be made of this blind Adoration to such Persons and their Power, we may easily judge by what Use ever has been made of it, which I think is well worth the Time and Thoughts of publick Authority, as of all Men who wish Well to their King, their Country, and Themselves, to seriously reflect upon, and to provide against, before it is too late, and the Mischief is accomplish'd.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IT is surprizing what minute and contemptible Causes create Discontents, Disorders, Violence, and Revolutions amongst Men; what a small Spring can actuate a mighty and many-headed Multitude; and what mighty Numbers one Man is capable of drawing into his Disgusts and Designs. It is the Weakness of the many; when they have taken a Fancy to a Man, or to the Name of a Man, they take a Fancy even to his Failings, adopt his Interest right or wrong, and resent every Mark of Disfavour shewn him, however just and necessary it be. Nor are their Resentments and Fondness the less violent for being ill-grounded: If a Man makes them Drunk once or twice a Year, this Injury is a Kindness which they never forget; and he is sure of their Hearts and their Hands for having so generously robb'd them of their Time, their Innocence, and their Senses. They are grateful for the Mischief done them; and in Return, are ready to do any for him. He who restrains them from Drunkenness, or even punishes them for it, is a greater and a real Benefactor; but such a Benefactor as they will never forgive, and he is sure to lose their good Will, probably to purchase their Hatred.

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This shews how much their Senses are stronger than their Understandings. They are govern'd not by Judgment, but by Sensations; and, one Guinea in Drink, obliges them more than two in Clothes; or in any other dry Way. Liquor warms their Hearts, and fills them with the Man who is the Author of so much Joy. So that to instruct them, feed them, and employ them, are not such sure Ways to win them, as to mislead and inflame them, and to waste their Time. For this Reason, the sober, and the sensible Clergyman is never so popular, as the loud, the factious, and the hot-headed. Rational and sober Instruction is a cold Thing, and goes no farther than the Understanding: But Noise and Raving awaken and intoxicate the animal Spirits, and set the Blood on Fire, and have all the Effects of Wine.

So that in raising Parties and Factions, Inflaming goes a thousand Times further than Reasoning and Teaching. A foolish Speech, supported with Vehemence and Brandy, will conquer the best Sense, and the best Cause in the World, without Anger or Liquor. Sobriety and Capacity are not Talents that recommend to the Crowd, who are always taken with shallow Pomp and Sound, and with Men of little Restraints. The Debauch'd and the Superstitious have great Hold of them: Men who will sin with them, or Men who can give them Amulets against the Vengence due to Sinning. But Men who will neither corrupt them, nor deceive them, are to them distasteful Stoicks, or frighful Infidels,

dels, and sometimes us'd as such. One may at any Time gain an Interest in a Mob with a Barrel of Beer, or without it, by the Means of a few odd Sounds, that mean nothing, or something very wild or wicked. Let any Superstition, though ever so wild or foolish, be advanced by one who has Credit enough to deceive them; let any favourite Party Watch-Word be invented, and pronounc'd in such a Tone and such a Posture, it soon becomes Sacred, and in the highest Esteem; and woe be to him that speaks against a Mystery: Every Argument shall be an Affront and a Sign of Unbelief; which is a Crime always highest, and most hated when it is best grounded. The Managers of the Charm, on the contrary, are Men of vast Reverence, Moment, and Popularity; and a Zeal for the Charm creates Guards and Revenues to the Charmers. If you go about to expose the Imposture, and unfold the Cheat, you are a Foe to all Religion, and will believe nothing without Evidence. The Superstition grows in establish'd Repute, and 'tis dangerous to oppose it, till some other, often more absurd, and consequently more prevailing, undermines and exterminates it: For there is that Propensity in most Men to Delusion and Grimace, that they seldom recur to the plain and aimable Precepts taught in the Scripture, and to a Religion without Shew, Pageantry, and Ceremonies; but Superstition almost always subsists in some Shape or other, and grows strong and reverenced in Proportion to its Weakness, Nonsense, and Absurdity: As it

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is admired in Proportion as it is fooliſh or wonderful, it is believed in Proportion as it is incredible: So that the Credulity of the People for the moſt Part, follows the wiſe Improvement of Nonſenſe: *Cupidine ingenii humani libentius obſcura credi.* Tacit.

Conſidering the Weakneſs of Man's Nature, prone to imaginary Fears, and to lean upon imaginary Props, and to ſeek imaginary Cures, limited Deluders are often to be born; but the worſt is, they will not be limited, but extend their Guile to Inſtances where it is not wanted; and from managing his Whims, aſſume a Right to direct his Property, his Eating and Drinking, and every Part of his Behaviour, and turn Canting, and telling Dreams, into Authority and Ruling.

The *Ægyptians* have been always a moſt ſuperſtitious Nation, always under the Dominion of their Prieſts, and conſequently prone to Tumults and Inſurrections. Their Prieſts were at one Time arriv'd to that monſtrous Pitch of Power and Tyranny, that they us'd to diſpatch their Kings by a Meſſage. If they did but ſignify their pious Pleaſure, that his Majeſty was to cut his Throat, he durſt not refuſe, but muſt humbly take the Razor, and be his own Executioner. But the Power of the Prieſts was weakened, and the Danger of frequent Rebellions prevented by the following Stratagem of one of the Princes. He conſider'd the Madneſs of the Multitude after their Gods, and their Prieſts; and that their Unity in religious Phrenzy and Nonſenſe diſpos'd them to Unanimity in

their

their Civil Rage. He therefore divided *Ægypt* into several Districts, and endow'd every District with its peculiar and separate Deities. He knew, that if they differ'd about their Gods, or divine Cattle, and Vegetables of Worship, and about the Rites paid them, they would agree about nothing else, and consequently never to conspire against him. One Division had for its Deity a Monkey, another had a Cat, another a Crocodile, another a Kite; and some ador'd Leeks and Garlick, Savoury Gods of their own planting.

O Sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina! ——

This Dividend of Deities had the desir'd Effect. The several Districts abhorr'd all the neighbouring celestial Gentry as intensly and madly as they doated on their own; and were ready to spill their Blood, either offensively, or defensively, for the Honour and Interest of these their different Divinities. Hence the religious and bloody War between two neighbouring Towns, finely describ'd by *Juvenal* with his usual Force and Indignation.

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
Immortale odium & nunquam sanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc, Ombas & Tentyra. Summus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quòd numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus; cùm solos credit habendos
Esse deos quos ipse colit. —— Juv. Sat. 15.

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When People are once divided in their Affections, every Thing, however innocent and indifferent, if it be peculiar to the one, becomes a Mark of Iniquity, and an Object of Hatred to the other. A different Hat or Coat becomes the Source of Resentment, when perhaps a Cloak or a Ruff creates Friendship and Esteem. A Judgment is made of the Hearts of Men by their Habit, and particular good or bad Qualities are annex'd to Cloth and Colours. There are Instances of Monarchs depos'd and murder'd by their People for wearing a foreign Dress, or for speaking a foreign Language: And there are Instances of Nations persecuted, wasted, and laid in Blood by their Princes, for using, or not using, particular Gestures and Sounds, which their Highnesses had taken a liking to; and of Princes us'd the same Way by their People for the same Reason.

If they take an Affection to the Word *Abracadabra*, tho' they join to it no certain Idea, they think themselves justified in oppressing, and sometimes in butchering, all who do not profess the same vehement Affection to the same senseless Sound. But the Man who is loud and mutinous for *Abracadabra* is their Darling: They grow fond of him for being fond of their Word: His Fondness is a Compliment to them; and they will venture Life and Limb for a Cheat, or a Blockhead, who opens his Mouth just as they do others. Their Zeal is the fiercer, because it is blind. If they fall religiously in love with an Ape, or an Ox, or with those that tend him,

him, as the *Ægyptians* did, he is presently a Blasphemer, who does not debase his Understanding, and forfeit his Sincerity, by sacrificing shamefully and devoutly to these brute Creatures, and by reverencing and pampering the solemn *Merry Andrews* that look after them.

The great Island of *Madagascar* is divided into two great Parts and Parties, who are at fierce Strife and everlasting War about a sanctify'd Elephant's Tooth, which both own to have come down from Heaven, and both pretend to have it; and I am not sure whether it has not work'd Miracles on both Sides: But as neither Side will allow the other to have it, they hate one another as much as they love and hate the said Tooth. *Great is the Elephant of* Madagascar, *and the Tusk which fell down from* Jupiter!

The *Turks* and the *Persians* are equally the devout, the blind, and bigotted Followers of *Mahomet*, and differ in no Point of Doctrine. This Doctrinal Unanimity, one would think, must be a powerful Bond of Union, at least of religious Union, between the two Empires. But no such Matter. They treat one another as execrable Hereticks and Infidels, and do not hate the Christians more, though their only Difference in Opinion is, that the *Turks* hold *Omar* for the true Successor of *Mahomet*, and the *Persians* maintain that *Ali* was. They tie their Religion, at least the Efficacy thereof, to the Succession, and deny that there can be any Salvation in any Church where the uninterrupted Succession

is not kept up: So that each Side is damn'd in the Opinion of each. This Hatred and Diviſion is increas'd by another momentous Difference, the Difference of the Colours and Caps which they wear. The *Turks* wear white Turbants, and the *Perſians* wear red Bonnets. Theſe are ſuch abominable Marks of Hereſy and Schiſm, as deſerves to be expiated with Blood: And therefore that Hereſy has always been aſſign'd as a principal Cauſe of their many mutual Invaſions, mercileſs Wars, and Deveſtations.

I wiſh I could not ſay, that the wiſe and grave *Engliſh* Nation have had alſo their holy and outrageous Quarrels about Words and Motions, Crape and Cloth, Bonnets and Colours, and about the Eaſtern and Weſtern Situation of Joint-Stools; Thank God it is not quite ſo bad at preſent, no Thanks to our Education.

I would, for a Concluſion to this Letter, only deſire it to be conſider'd, what Infamy and Contempt it reflects upon the human Underſtanding, and indeed upon the human Species, to be thus apt to run into Diſcord and Animoſities upon ſuch wretched and unmanly Motives; and what Monſters and Impoſtors they muſt be, who begin, or manage, or highten theſe abſurd and impious Contentions amongſt any Part of the Race of Men, already too unhappy by the Lot of Nature.

I am, &c.

SIR,

AS I have lately given you the genuine Meaning of two very Nonſenſical Words, as they are vulgarly underſtood, to wit, *Hereditary Right*; ſo in this I ſhall a little animadvert upon two other Words in as much Uſe, I mean the Words *Indelible Character*; which I chuſe to do, becauſe no ſmall Number of Eccleſiaſticks, and ſome I have heard of the higheſt Character, dare to aſſert, that though the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter* is depriv'd of his Biſhoprick, and expell'd the Kingdom, yet that *He remains a Biſhop of the Univerſal Church*, which are ſome more nonſenſical Words: Indeed, there is ſcarce a Theological Syſtem in the World, (legal Eſtabliſhments excepted,) but contains almoſt as many Falſhoods as Words, and as much Nonſenſe as Matter. Give the corrupt Prieſts but ſome odd, unintelligible, and ill-favour'd Word, ſuppoſe *hic hæc hoc*, *trim tram*, *bow wow*, *fee fa fum*, or any other Sound that is utterly void of any rational Meaning, and they ſhall inſtantly find profound Myſtery in it, and fetch ſtubſtantial Advantages out of it; and when they are got in full Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Word, you are damned if you deny it to be Senſe, and damned if you endeavour to make Senſe of it.

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The Indelible Character, is one of their beloved Phrases, from which they derive great Importance and Authority, and yet is a palpable Contradiction to all common Sense: By it they mean a certain invisible Faculty, that is peculiar to themselves, of doing certain Duties, which they could have done as well before they had it. It is a divine Commission, or Power, to do that every where, which human Powers can hinder them from doing any where: It neither conveys Virtue, Holiness, nor Understanding, and has no visible Operation, but authorizes those who are possess'd of it to use certain Words, and perform certain Actions and Ceremonies, and act certain Motions, which most other Men could pronounce, perform, and act as well as they can, but they tell us not with equal Effect; but then this Effect is no ways visible, nor comprehensible, but through Faith, and is far above all human Conception.

How then, and by what Marks, shall we know that any one has attain'd to this Indelible Character? Not from Scripture, which is wholly silent about the Matter? Not by Succession from the Apostles, who claimed no such Power, as is unanswerably proved in the *Independant Whig*, No. VI. and VII. Not from Reason, the Impossibility of it being there fully shewn in No. XV. And the Wickedness of pretending to it being as fully shewn in No. XLVI. and XLVII. Not from the Laws of *England*, which oblige all Clergymen to own, that they receive all Jurisdicti-

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on and Authority whatſoever from the Crown, as is demonſtratively proved in No. XIII. and XIV. and in No. XLVIII. and XLIX. It is as undeniably proved by numerous Texts, as well as the whole Bent of Scripture, that no one Chriſtian has more Power than another, to perform all the Offices of Chriſtianity; that the Holy Ghoſt fell upon all Believers alike, and that they had all the Power of doing Miracles, after they had received it; and I think it is as evident, that none of them have now the Power of doing Miracles, as this would be with a Witneſs, if a few Words pronounced, and few Motions performed, ſhould give to any one new Qualities and Faculties which he had not before. I am ſure, if this is a Miracle, it is an inviſible One, and much like that of the Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation; where though we are told, that the Bread and Wine are changed into Fleſh and Blood, yet as to human Eyes they appear to be Bread and Wine ſtill. We are ſo far from being told in Holy Writ, that Elders, Paſtors, and Teachers, (for all Prieſthood is plainly aboliſh'd by our Saviour in any other Senſe than as all Chriſtians are Prieſts,) are always to chuſe one another; that even an Apoſtle in the firſt of the *Acts* is choſen by the Congregation, and by the caſting of Lots.

But theſe Gentlemen are ſometimes ſo modeſt, as to confeſs, that holy Orders do really convey neither Piety, Morals, Learning, nor encreaſe the natural Faculties in any Reſpect: I deſire therefore to know of them, what they are good for, unleſs to declare, that

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such a Man has undertaken to execute an Office, and that he has natural or acquired Qualifications sufficient to perform it? And this Trust is for the most Part committed to Clergymen, who are presumed best to understand their own Trade; and the Ceremony they use to signify that Declaration, are laying on of Hands, and a Form of Words, prescribed by Act of Parliament; which Ceremony has obtained the Name of Consecration and Ordination. Now suppose the Law had appointed another Form to be executed only by Laymen, as by throwing a Sword over his Head, and by putting a Cap and long Gown upon him; would not the same Man, with the same Qualifications, be just as good a Pastor; or suppose the Bishop, who ordained him through some Mistake, had not himself gone through all the Operation, would the Person ordain'd been ever the worse? There is no Appearance that our modern Operators have any Discernment of Spirits; if they had, I presume we should not have had so many *Jacobites* in Holy Orders; and 'tis evident in Fact, whenever the Parishes chuse their own Parsons, they are at least as good Ones as those who are recommended to us by our spiritual Fathers. 'Tis certain our Laws know nothing of this Gibberish, but declare Laymen capable of all Sorts of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and when the Bishops consecrate one another, or ordain Priests, they do it ministerially from the Crown, and formerly took out a Commission from the Crown, to ordain Presbyters; and the King now constitutes

tutes Bishops in *Ireland* by Commission, and they will be good ones, and be able to perform all the Episcopal Office, though they were never consecrated, and formerly they were granted by Patent in *Scotland*, and only *durante bene placito*.

Now let us consider, What is the Meaning of the Word Bishop, and wherein his Office consists. It is a Power or Jurisdiction given to do certain Actions within a certain District, which District is limited by human Laws; and he must not execute his Power in any other Bishop's District, under the Penalty of Schism, and human Punishment; and what is this Jurisdiction? It is a Power to name a Lay-Chancellor if he pleases, who is to enquire after, and punish certain carnal Crimes, without consulting or taking any Notice of the Bishop himself, who constituted him; and Excommunication is the legal Process he is to use, and the Punishment he is to inflict. The Bishop has, moreover, a Power to examine into the Qualifications of those who desire to be admitted into Orders, and to admit them, or reject them, as he finds them capable, or incapable; and after they are admitted, to inspect into their Behaviour, in some Respects, and to punish them according to stated Laws. And what is this Priestly Office? It is to read Prayers, appointed by Act of Parliament, publickly to the Congregation, to read aloud certain Chapters out of the Bible, appointed by publick Authority to be read on particular Days, to pick out a Text or two every *Sunday*, and harangue upon it to the People; to administer

miniſter the Sacraments by a Form of Words preſcribed by Law, to viſit the Sick, exhort and rebuke, and to take the Tythes. The Biſhop beſides is to be a Lord of Parliament, to have one or more Thouſands *per Annum*, and to bleſs People when they are upon their Knees.

Now what Part of all this may not be as well executed, by what Ceremony ſoever the Perſon officiating is appointed, or if he is appointed without any Ceremony at all. May not a Biſhop conſtitute a Lay-Chancellor to hear ſmutty Cauſes, and to excommunicate the Guilty, till they buy themſelves out of Purgatory again for a Sum of Money? Cannot he equally enquire into the Capacities of thoſe who are Candidates for the Prieſthood, as they call it, and to deprive or otherwiſe puniſh them as the Law directs? Might not he equally ſit in the Houſe of Lords, and vote for the juſt Prerogative of the Crown, the Good of the Church; make the moſt of his Revenues, only for the Sake of his Succeſſor, and ſay, *God bleſs you* to any who will ask it upon his Knees? Might not a private Man, though a Biſhop's Hand had never touched his Periwig, read aloud the publick Prayers and the Chapters for the Day, when he can read at all, without any new Inſpiration; talk half an Hour or more about the Meaning of a plain Text; exhort his Pariſhioners to be good Churchmen; rail at and revile Diſſenters; read the legal Form of Baptiſm, and ſprinkle an Infant; carry about the Bread and Wine to the Communicants; repeat the Words

Words appointed in the Common-Prayer Book to be said on that Occasion; gather in Tythes very carefully, and put any One into the Spiritual Court that does not pay them.

Now, Sir, what is Deprivation, but by publick Authority to hinder them from doing these Things; that is, to take away the Power it has given them? I think it is agreed by them all, that some of these Powers may be taken away, namely, the Bishops being Members of the Upper House, their Baronies and Revenues, their Lordships, their Dignities, their Spiritual Courts, their legal Jurisdiction within their former Districts; but still they remain good Bishops of the Universal Church; which Character is Indelible, and can never be taken away. But what they mean by the Universal Church, I can't guess, unless they mean all Christian Countries, or all Countries wherein there are Christians; and then it seems that Bishops may ordain Presbyters, and Bishops and Presbyters both may preach and pray, give the Sacraments, and excommunicate wherever there are any Christians; and if the Words *Universal Church* will extend to those who are no Christians, then they may do these Things through the whole World. But how will this agree with another orthodox Opinion, I think held by them all, that no Bishop can execute his Office in another's Diocese, and no Priest in another's Parish, against their Consent, without being guilty of Schism. And here almost all Christendom is cut off from their Ecclesiastical Juris-

Jurisdiction at once, and a good Part of *Turky* too, the Christians there having all Bishops (such as they are:) So that they are reduced to execute this Universal Power only in *partibus infidelium*; and methinks, since Sovereign Authority is every where the same, Mahometan or Pagan Princes should have as much Power to hinder any one from conferring Offices in his Dominions, as Christian Princes have to confine him to a small Limit, and hinder him every where else; for no more Power is necessary to one than to the other.

But to shew that I am in Charity with these Gentlemen, and am willing to agree with them as far as I can, I do admit, that no Government, either Christian, Mahometan, or Pagan, has any Authority to hinder a good Man from doing his Duty to God; from saying his Prayers, and reading the Scriptures publickly; from exhorting his Brethren from giving or receiving the Sacraments, or avoiding ill Company; which is all that is meant in Scripture, by what we call Excommunication: All which Offices, or rather Duties, every Christian is empower'd by the Gospel to execute. And as the Clergy have been called upon oftner than once already to shew from Scripture, or Reason, that these Duties, or any of them, are appointed by God, to be perform'd by any Set or Order of Men whatsoever, independent of other Christians; so I call upon them again to shew it, and I expect they will introduce plain and direct Texts, or, at least, as much Evidence as they would pay

five Shillings upon on any other Occaſion. And if they cannot do this, as I ſhall preſume they cannot, till the contrary appears; then all this artificial Cant is plain Juggling, Hypocriſy, and Prieſtcraft.

If we will take ſome of their Words for it, there are many Things very ſtrange and extraordinary in this Divine Truſt: It may be given here below, but cannot be taken away again; for then it would not be Indeliable. It is a Power to execute Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction or Duty through the whole Earth, and yet may be confin'd to Dioceſes, or Pariſhes: No human Authority can hinder thoſe who are poſſeſs'd of it from executing it; and yet their Perſons may be impriſon'd, or put to Death, and ſo be wholly diſenabled to execute it: They may be render'd incapable of performing it by Diſeaſes, Drunkenneſs, Gluttony, and Lazineſs; but not by Murder, Robbery, Treaſon, Blaſphemy, or Atheiſm: Non-Execution, or wrong Execution, is no Forfeiture: It is the moſt tender and important of all Truſts; and yet no Crimes, how heinous or black ſoever, will diſqualify a Man from holding and executing it: Whoever has once got it, can never part with it, but carries it with him to the Pillory and the Gallows; but whether it there leaves him, Authors are ſilent, or doubtful.

It can be given by one of them to another only by the Motion of the Hand, but not by Act of Parliament, and the Conſent of the States of a great Kingdom, tho' the Head of the Church is one of them; and yet it muſt be

be given according to the Command of that one, and by a Form of Words enacted by all three. Whoever has it, must have a Call from the Holy Ghost, and yet must be examin'd whether he has common natural Qualifications; and when he has heard this Call, and his Qualifications are found sufficient, he need not execute what he is call'd to, but may hire another to do it for him; who must not execute it neither, unless he has an human Diocese, or an human Parish, or is employ'd by those who have. Is not this pretty Jargon, and worthy to be made an Article of Faith? Though it has had the ill Luck not to get in amongst the rest, and, what is worse, some of the rest directly contradict it.

The same invisible Faculty makes him, who is possess'd of it, neither wiser nor better; but yet he is to be much more respected, and his Authority to be much more regarded, provided he is zealous for the Notions which are Orthodox for the Time being; otherwise you may abuse him as much as you please, whether he is Most Reverend, Right Reverend, or only Plain Reverend; and you need not have any Reverence at all for him, tho' the Indelible Character sticks just where it did before. You must know this Indelible Character came down by an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles; but then it being wholly invisible, and making no Alteration in the outward or inward Man, there is some Difficulty, and we are often at a Loss to know who has it. The most common outward and visible Signs are a broad-brim'd Hat, a

long black Gown, and a Band, tho' others hold a Cloak, with a Cape to it, to be a better Criterion. But what will become of us, if ſome Heretick has formerly uſurp'd theſe Holy Garments, without having paſſed through all the precedent Operation; and if he ſhould have happen'd to have conſecrated and ordain'd a great many others; then, alas! the whole Chain of Succeſſion may have been broke, never to be pieced again by human Skill; and we can never know who amongſt us are regular Chriſtians, or in a regular Way of Salvation. Some are ſo wicked as to ſay, That this was the Caſe of many of our Proteſtant Biſhops at the Reformation; which God forbid!

Nay, what is worſe, the Orthodox differ amongſt themſelves about what Requiſites are neceſſary to continue this Line of Succeſſion. Many have affirm'd, That the Holy Ghoſt would not inhabit a Heretick, a Schiſmatick, a Simoniack, or an Atheiſt; and ſome have went ſo far, as to aſſert, That a Chriſtian Biſhop ought to be a Chriſtian. Now it is certain, there have been many Biſhops and Popes too, who did not believe one Word about Jeſus Chriſt; and if this is Diſqualification, then the Lord have Mercy upon thoſe who have pretended to receive Orders from them, or under them, and upon ſuch who received the Sacraments only by Succeſſion from them.

Others have ventur'd to affirm, That no greater Power was neceſſary to take away Orders than to give them; and if ſo, the Pope and Church

Church of *Rome* have taken away all our Orders from us, and excommunicated us to a Man; and then a Queſtion will ariſe, Whether any one, who is wholly turn'd out of the Church, can be a Biſhop of the Church? and if not, all our Bench of Biſhops are gone at once; for we all know that the Church of *Rome* is a true Church; and if the Clergy have any Authority from Scripture, all the Eccleſiaſtical Authority in the World was againſt the firſt Reformers, and they were all excommunicated together. They had certainly no Power to ſeparate themſelves from the Church of *Rome*, but what every Man in the World ever had, has now, and ever will have, to ſeparate from any Church which he thinks to be erroneous, and of diſowning all Eccleſiaſtical Authority, which does not take its Force from the Laws of the Country he lives under; and then it is only Civil Authority. I deſire of the Gentlemen, who have always ſhewn themſelves very happy at Diſtinctions, to clear up thoſe Matters to us, that we may know whether we are Chriſtians or not, and in the ordinary of Salvation.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IN my last I endeavour'd to give you a true Anatomy of the *Indelible* Character, and of the uninterrupted Succession, from whence are deriv'd most of the Absurdities of the *Romish* Church, and all the spiritual Equipage of their Popes, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Parish-Priests, *&c.* as well as all the Powers claim'd by them in the Church. In this I shall give you their Genealogy; as also the Genealogy of their Cathedrals, their Altars, their lighted Candles upon them at Noon-day; their worshipping God towards the East, and a great deal more of their religious Trumpery. I cannot, after the most diligent Inquiry, find out the least Countenance for most, if any, of these fine Things, in the Christian Religion; and the *Jewish* is long since abolish'd. Our Saviour plainly intended to reduce Men to natural Religion, which was corrupted and defaced by the numerous Superstitions of the *Jews*, and by the absurd Idolatries of the *Gentiles*. The Doctrine which he taught, consisted only in Worshipping one God, and in doing Good to Men; and therefore he instituted a Religion without Priests, Sacrifices, and Ceremonies; a Religion which was to reside in the Heart, to consist in Spirit, and in Truth; and to shew itself outwardly

wardly in virtuous Actions: But such a Religion would not gratify the Ambition and Pride of those who desir'd to Domineer over their Brethren, and to acquire from their Ignorance and Fears, Riches and Authority.

As therefore the *Jewish* Priests had, by their Traditions, and their fabulous Legands, corrupted the Law of *Moses*; so the Christian Clergy did by Degrees blend the Gospel, and the plain and easy Precepts of Christianity, with the most absurd Parts of the *Jewish* Traditions, and with the ridiculous Foppery of the Religion of the *Gentiles*; insomuch, than at the Reformation there was not left in the World any Thing that look'd like Christianity. The Pope and his Priests had pick'd out from all other Superstitions their most absurd, cruel, and wicked Parts and Principles; and having incorporated the same with peculiar Absurdities of their own, made out of all such a wild Jumble of Nonsense and Impieties, as has driven Virtue, good Government, and Humanity, almost out of the World; given Rise to *Mahometanism*; and both together have almost extinguish'd the human Race; since there is not in those Countries, where these Religions entirely prevail, the Tenth Part of the People they could boast in the Times of the old *Romans*, nor in Proportion to the Numbers which *China* and *Holland* can boast; where the Priests have no Power, and but little Influence.

It would be endless to trace all the numerous Absurdities of the *Romish* Church, and to search the Sources from whence they are

taken and ſtolen. I ſhall content my ſelf here, to ſhew, that their whole Machinery is copied from the Religion of *Zoroaſter*, and the *Perſian Magi*, and ſhall quote no other Authority than the excellent and learned Dr. *Prideaux*; but give an Account of that Impoſtor and his *Magi*, altogether in the Doctor's own Words.

He tells us, That *Zoroaſter* flouriſh'd in the Reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, (tho' others ſay, very long before, as he ſays, the *Magi* did, who, without doubt, held many of the ſame Opinions, he having only revived their Sect with ſome Alterations;) and he taught, that there was one ſupreme Being, independent and ſelf-exiſtent from all Eternity; that under him there were two Angels, one the Angel of Light, and the Author and Director of all Good; the other the Angel of Darkneſs, the Author and Director of all Evil; that this Struggle ſhould continue to the End of the World, and then there ſhould be a general Reſurrection, and a Day of Judgment, wherein juſt Retribution ſhould be render'd to all according to their Works; and the Angel of Darkneſs and his Diſciples ſhould go into a World of their own, where they ſhould ſuffer in everlaſting Darkneſs, the Puniſhment of their ill Deeds; and the Angel of Light and his Diſciples ſhould go into a World of their own, and receive in everlaſting Light, the Rewards due to their good Deeds.

This Impoſtor pretended to have been taken up to Heaven, and there to have heard God

God ſpeak to him out of the Midſt of the Fire; and therefore he order'd Fire-Temples to be built, and erected Altars in them, upon which ſacred Fires were kept and preſerved, without being ſuffer'd to go out; and all the Parts of their publick Worſhip were perform'd before theſe publick ſacred Fires, as all their private Devotions were before private Fires in their own Houſes: Not that they worſhipped the Fire, but God in the Fire; for God having ſpoken out of the Fire, he ſaid, That it was the ſureſt *Shecinah* of the Divine Preſence; That the Sun being the perfecteſt Fire that God had made, there was the Throne of his Glory, and the Evidence of his Divine Preſence, in a more eſpecial Manner than any where elſe; for which Reaſon he order'd them to direct all their Worſhip towards the Sun, and next towards their ſacred Fires; and therefore they always approached them from the Weſt Side; that having their Faces towards them, and alſo towards the Riſing Sun at the ſame Time, they might direct their Worſhip towards both; for the *Kebla* of the *Magians* being the Riſing Sun, they always worſhipped with their Faces towards the Eaſt.

To gain the greater Reputation to his Pretenſions, he retir'd to a Cave, and there liv'd, a Recluſe, pretending to be abſtracted from all worldly Conſiderations, and to be wholly given up to Prayer, and Divine Meditations. Whilſt he was in this Retirement, he compos'd the Book wherein his pretended Revelations are contain'd; which conſiſted of

twelve Volumes. The first contains the Liturgy of the *Magi*, and the rest treat of the other Parts of their Religion. In this Book he commands the same Observances about Beasts, clean and unclean, which *Moses* commands; gives the same Law of paying Tythes to the Sacerdotal Order; enjoins the same Care of avoiding all external and internal Pollutions; the same Way of cleansing and purifying themselves by frequent Washings; the same keeping the Priesthood always within one Tribe; and several other Institutions are also therein contain'd, of the same *Jewish* Extraction. The rest of its Contents are an Historical Account of the Life, Actions, and Prophecies of its Author; the several Branches and Particulars of his new reformed Superstition; and Rules and Exhortations to Holy Living; in which he is very pressing, and sufficiently exact, saving only in one Particular, which is about Incest, which the Doctor supposes is allow'd by him out of Flattery to the *Persian* Kings, who were exceedingly given to incestuous Marriages. This Book he pretends to have received from Heaven; and according as the Actions of his Sect agree or disgrace with it, they are esteem'd either good or evil.

His Priests, as is said, are to be all of one Tibe, and none but the Son of a Priest was capable of being a Priest; and his Priesthood he divided into three Tribes. The lowest were the inferior Clergy, who served in all the common Offices of their divine Worship. Next above these were the Superintendents, who

who in their ſeveral Diſtricts govern'd the inferiour Clergy, as the Biſhops do amongſt us; and above all, was the *Archimagus*, or Arch-Prieſt, who was the ſame as the High-Prieſt amongſt the *Jews*, or the Pope now amongſt the *Romaniſts*, and is the Head of the whole Religion: And, according to the Number of their Orders, the Temples and Churches in which they officiated, were of three Sorts. The loweſt Sort, were there Parochial Churches, or Oratories, which were ſerved by their inferior Clergy, as the Parochial Churches are now with us; and the Duties they there perform'd, were to read the daily Offices out of their Liturgy, and at ſtated and ſolemn Times to read ſome Part of their ſacred Writings to the People. In theſe Churches there were no Fire-Altars; but the ſacred Fire before which they worſhipp'd, was maintain'd only with a Lamp. Next above theſe were the Fire Temples, in which Fire was continually kept burning on a ſacred Altar; and theſe were in the ſame Manner as Cathedrals with us, the Churches or Temples were the Superintendent reſided. In every one of theſe were alſo ſeveral of the inferior Clergy entertain'd, who, in the ſame Manner as the Choral Vicars with us, perform'd all the Divine Offices under the Superintendent, and alſo took Care of the ſacred Fire, &c.

The higheſt Church above all was the Fire-Temple, where the *Archimagus* reſided, which was had in the ſame Veneration with them, as the Temple of *Mecca* among the *Mahometans*, to which every one of that Sect thought

thought themselves oblig'd to make a Pilgrimage once in their Lives; *Zoroaster* settled it at *Balch*, and he and the *Archimagus* his Successors had their Residence there; but afterwards it was remov'd to *Herman*. This Temple of the *Archimagus*, as also their other Fire-Temples, were endow'd with large Revenues in Lands; but the Parochial Clergy depended only upon the Tythes and Offerings of the People. The Doctor observes afterwards, That this Impostor having wonderful Success in causing his Imposture to be received by the King, the Great Men, and the Generality of the whole Kingdom, he return'd to *Balch*; where, according to his Institution, he was oblig'd to have his Residence, as *Archimagus*, or Head of the Sect; and there he reigned with the same Authority in Spirituals over the whole Empire, as the King did in Temporals.

The Doctor observes, and perhaps with Truth, That *Zoroaster* borrowed a great Part of his new Religion from the *Jews*, especially if he liv'd so late as he supposes him to have done, with some Appearance of Reason. But if the Impostor took his Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, and of Rewards and Punishments from them too, (which he also supposes,) it must have been from the *Essines*, a Sect among the *Jews*, not exceeding four Thousand: For I cannot find any Mention made of that Doctrine in the Books of *Moses*, which contain their Laws, and promise only temporal Blessings and Punishments: And the Doctor himself, in another Place, tells us, That the *Sadduces*, who were the Gentle-

Gentlemen, and Men of Learning amongſt them, did wholly disbelieve the Reſurrection, future Rewards and Puniſhments, Angels and Spirits, and rejected all the Scriptures but the Law? And that the *Phariſees*, tho' they believ'd the Reſurrection, yet thought it only a *Pythagorean* Reſurrection, or Tranſmigration of the ſame Soul into another Body; And I think it is plain from the New Teſtament, that the full Revealing of this Truth was reſerved to our Bleſſed Saviour, who brought Life and Immortality to Light: Tho' it is undoubtedly true, that ſome of the *Jews* held it as a Philoſophical Opinion, probably taken from the Nations they convers'd with: But it does not appear to me, that *Moſes* eſtabliſh'd it as a Sanction to the Religion which he reveal'd, or that it was any Part of the *Jewiſh* Religion to believe it.

But admitting that *Zoroaſter* took the beſt Parts of his Religion from the *Jews*, I think it is much plainer that the *Romaniſts* have taken the worſt Parts of theirs from him; or elſe they have very luckily or unluckily jump'd in the ſame Thoughts. Their *Archimagus*, High-Prieſt, or Pope, they can have no where elſe, unleſs they borrow'd him from the *Jews*, which would be extremely impudent, ſince the Chriſtian Religion is built upon the Ruins of theirs. Their Superintendents, whom they call Archbiſhops and Biſhops, and their Parochial Prieſts, whom they do not borrow from the *Jews*, and who, they ſay, are not derived from human Inſtitution, cannot be derived, in my Opinion, from

from any other Source than that of *Zoroaſter*. Where elſe do they find the Diviſion of their Prieſts into ſeveral Orders, which exactly reſemble his, namely, the lower Order in Parochial Temples, to read Offices out of their Liturgies, or Maſs-Books, and Portions of their ſacred Writings at appointed Times? For the *Jews* had not that Oeconomy, nor indeed any Synagogue-Worſhip, till long after *Zoroaſter's* Time. Where elſe do they find Cathedrals with Altars in them, and lighted Candles upon theſe Altars, in Imitation of the ſacred Fire of the *Magi*; and theſe Altars ſtanding to the Eaſt, and the Worſhip in them perform'd with the Face towards it? Where elſe the many inferior Prieſts officiating in ſuch Temples, ſubordinate to the Superintendent, and in Eaſe to him? And where elſe the endowing theſe Temples with Lands and Revenues?

Where do they find their uninterrupted Succeſſion, *&c.* and in Conſequence their *Indeliable Character*, but in the Succeſſion of *Zoroaſter's* Prieſts in one Tribe only, who, without doubt were all Holy, had all a Divine Right, were particularly Favourites of the Divine Being, and cloathed with peculiar Powers and Diſpenſations? Where had they the abſurd and blaſphemous Opinion of God's being more immediately at the Altar, or in the Eaſt, than in any other Place, unleſs from the Notion and Dreams of the *Magi*, that the Divine Preſence was in an eſpecial Manner in the Sun, or in the Fire? Where do they find that the Deity is pleas'd with Men's retiring

retiring into Caves, Corners, and Monasteries; with their neglecting the Affairs of the World, and of their Families; with their being useless to Society; and with their dwelling only upon Meditations and the Spleen; but in the Example and Authority of *Zoroaster*? Where do they find any Command for wild Jaunts in Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and for idle and enthusiastick Devotions to Shrines, Altars, and Chapels, unless in the Injunctions of this Impostor to all his Votaries to visit the Temple of *Balch*? And where else did they adopt the absurd, monstrous, and wicked Hypothesis, of the Church's having a different Head from the State, and of the Independence of the Priests upon the Civil Power?

Most of these Opinions and Practices are Parts of the Religion of the ancient *Magi*; and from thence it is reasonable to presume the *Romish* Priests have copied them, unless they can shew where else they had them. They cannot, with the Appearance of common Sense, be deduced from the New Testament; and the *Jewish* Religion has been long since abolish'd. They have therefore the Honour of having restored the old Superstition of the *Magi*, with this material Difference, That the latter had more Learning, and much more Integrity; that they did not do, by the hundreth Part, so much Mischief, and treated with more Humanity those who differed from them.

I am, &c.

SIR,

IN my 26th Paper, which treats about the Uſe of Words, I have promis'd to ſhew how abſurd and impious it is for Men to fall together by the Ears upon the Account of their Difference in Trifles, when they ſcarce agree in any one Thing in the World, and not even in the Attributes annex'd to the Object of all Worſhip, though they know nothing of him but from his Attributes; and I will now perform the Task I have there undertaken.

There is no Propoſition about which Mankind have agreed and diſagreed ſo much, as about the Meaning of the Word God. I think, very few Inſtances excepted, they have all agreed there is ſuch a Being; and yet I apprehend, that no two Nations, two Sects, or ſcarce two Men of the ſame Sect, have eſſentially agreed in all the Ideas they have annex'd to the Sound. All have aſſerted, That he has exiſted from all Eternity, and muſt for ever exiſt, and that he has made or produced every Thing elſe: And thus far Heathens and Jews, Mahometans and Chriſtians, Proteſtants and Papiſts, Deiſts and Free-thinkers, Materialiſts and Immaterialiſts, Stoicks, Peripateticks, and Epicureans, are all Orthodox; for the laſt could not have doubted but

but some Being must have existed before the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms; and in this Sense there are very few, if there is one Atheist in the World: But when they go farther, and explain what they mean by the Sound, I doubt most, or many of them, are Atheists to one another, as not believing in the Being which the one and the other call God.

All the Differences amongst Mankind, as to their Belief of the Deity, are owing to their different Conceptions of him; and as they disagree in his Attributes, and the Modes of his Operations, and worship him under various Images and Representations. As to his Substance, Essence, the Manner or *Sensorium* of his Existence, we neither know, nor can know any thing, nor can have any Conception about it, and consequently can believe nothing concerning it; and therefore all that we can believe (besides what I above said every Man agrees in) is concerning his Attributes, and the *Modus* wherein he has communicated or represented himself to us, that is, we can only believe in the Ideas we have annex'd in our Minds to the Word God; and if we annex different Images to the Word, we are of a different Religion, or rather are Atheists to one another, though we call the Object of all our Worship by the same Name: For since, as I have said, we can only worship our own Conceptions or Images of the Deity, or (by new placing the Words) the Deity under our Conceptions and Images, if those Images are false, we worship only an Idol of our own Imaginations, and pay Divine Homage

Homage to nothing; for what is the Difference to us in saying, that another Man believes in nothing, or believes in what we know to be nothing, which is Atheism. From hence I think it appears, that no Man has a Right to call another Atheist, in any other Sense, than as I shall make it appear, that most Men have a Right to call those, who differ from themselves in their Conception of the Deity, Atheists.

Now, Sir, to begin with the Heathens, who worship'd *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Mercury*, &c. which were only bare Sounds and Non-entities: Their paying Divine Honours to nothing, was worshiping nothing; and believing in nothing, is the same thing in Substance as having no Belief; and therefore they were certainly Atheists, though they did not know themselves to be so. For what is Atheism, but not believing in a God? And can any Man be said to believe in a God, whose whole Belief is in an imaginary Being that is not God, though I confess such a fancied Belief may influence his Actions, and answer many of the Purposes of Society? It was the same thing when they believ'd in real Beings, as Images, Stocks, Stones, Monkeys, Garlick, &c. For they worshipped them for Powers which they suppos'd were in them, and which were not; and so worshipp'd those supposed Powers, and consequently worshipp'd nothing, and believ'd in nothing which was God, and consequently were Atheists in Fact, though devout Religionists in Shew, and in their own Opinion too.

But

But without annihilating the Heathen Deities, the Stoicks and Epicureans, (who differ'd much in the same Manner, as some of the Deists and Orthodox do amongst us,) were Atheists to one another, as not believing in the Attributes that each annex'd to their different Divinities. The Stoicks annexed the Attributes of Wisdom, Mercy, and Justice, to the Being of the Deity, who was suppos'd by them to dispence those Attributes occasionally to the Actions and Necessities of Men. The Epicureans thought the Deity to be sufficient in his own Felicity, and that he did not concern himself with our Affairs here below; but that all Things depended upon Fate, and an eternal Cause, which controuled and was superior to even *Jupiter* himself; which Fate must have been their eternal God, which produceth all Things at first.

They had no Notion of what was meant by *wise*, *merciful*, and *just*, when applied to the Deity; and thought they could not be analogous to what was meant by the same Words in Men; for they said, That Wisdom in Men, was only ballancing the Motives of doing or not doing an Action, and chusing which was best; which Wisdom was a Knowledge acquired by Habit and Experience, and by observing the Relations of Things to one another, and was convey'd to them through the Organs of Sense; but they said, That the Deity had no Organs, but saw all Things intuitively from all Eternity, and could not err: So they said, That Mercy in Men was a Passion caused by the Feeling or Appre-

Apprehenſion of the Sufferings of others; but they believ'd that the Divinity could have no Paſſions, becauſe no Agent could operate upon him, he himſelf being eternal, and before all Things, and producing all Things; nor could ſuffer temporary Anguiſh and Uneaſineſs, always produced by Compaſſion. In like Manner, they ſaid, that Juſtice was an Adherence to certain Rules, dictated by ſuperior Powers, or agreed upon by Men for their mutual Convenience; but no Rules could be ſet to the Divinity, who the Stoicks confeſs'd had made every Thing, and had a Right to do what he pleas'd with his own Creatures. He that made the Relation of all Things, might alter that Relation, and diſpenſe with his own Laws, when and how he thought fit.

Therefore they ſaid, when thoſe Attributes were applied to the Deity, nothing could be meant by them, but to expreſs our Reverence for him; our Admiration of his Power, and to ſacrifice to him our beſt Conceptions; not that we pretend to define his Eſſence, nor the *Modus* of his Actions, which are wholly incomprehenſible to us. They concluded that he that had done all Things could do all Things; but did not pretend to know how he did them; but thought themſelves very ſure that he did not do them as we do, *viz.* by weighing the Difficulties on each Side the Queſtion, becauſe nothing could be difficult to him; nor could he deliberate, becauſe Deliberation would imply Doubt; and the Deity could not doubt, being neceſſitated by the

the Excellence of his Nature always to do the beſt.

They thought, that a Being that could never have any Cauſes before it, nor without it, or after it, but what it produced, nor any Objects to work upon it, muſt have been always uniform and entire, that is, its Attributes, its Will, and its Actions, muſt have been one with its Eſſence. It muſt have been conſtantly moving, or acting, or, as late Divines very elegantly expreſs themſelves, eternally proceeding: For there could be no Beginning of Action, without being at reſt before; and then they ſaid it muſt have been from all Eternity at reſt, as finding it difficult to conceive, that a Being that had Self-Motion ſhould never have exerted that Principle till a particular Period of Time, and in a particular Portion of Space, when Eternity and Infinity (its inſeparable Attributes) can have no Periods and Limits; nor can any Intervals of Time and Space meaſure ſuch a Being.

Hence Philoſophers have called Eternity a *Nunc Stans*, or an Inſtant, or Punctum, which cannot be divided even in Imagination; and though they could not convey any diſtinct Images by that Way of ſpeaking, yet they found themſelves reduc'd to it from the Difficulties which would ariſe in dividing the Operations of a Being in all Reſpects indiviſible. Now can any one ſay that theſe Sects believe in God? Certainly the Object of the Belief of one of them was not God, but only an Idol of their own Brains, and conſe-

consequently that Sect believ'd in nothing, and were Atheists.

The same Observations runs through the different Sects of Religionists in the World, and great Numbers of particular Men in every Sect of Religion. Some represent the Deity as a capricious, angry, revengeful Being, fond of Commendation and Flattery, prescribing and dictating partial Rules to his Creatures, laying useless Burdens upon them, and making their future Happiness to depend upon the Actions of others, and upon such Performances, and believing such Speculations, as are out of their Power; others think the Deity has Satiety of Happiness within itself, and must be incapable of any Passions to interrupt that Happiness; and therefore, as we cannot do Good or Harm to him, the only Way to recommend our selves to him, is to do Good to one another. These cannot apprehend, that any Man's future Felicity lies in another's Power; or, that useless Speculations or Actions, as Bows, Cringes, Forms, Grimaces, Rotes of Words, or any Thing but a good Conscience, and a virtuous Life, can make us acceptable to the Deity. Now 'tis certain there are great Numbers of Men in the World of both these Opinions, and they undoubtedly do not believe in the same Being; but some of them believe in a Non-entity, and consequently are Atheists.

If this Argument was to be traced through all its Sub-divisions, it would fill a Volume instead of a single Paper; and therefore I shall tire you no farther upon the Subject; my

my Design in entring upon it being to warn my Countrymen how cautious they ought to be in calling odious Names, which may with equal Justice be retorted upon themselves; and therefore let us leave such Appellations to those who Scold for Hire, and rest fully assured, that as most certainly there is a God, so he is the best Being in the Universe; that he expects no more from us than he has given us Means to perform; and when we have done all in our Power to please him, that we shall please him, however, or how much soever we mistake his Being or Attributes, and then it will be of very little Consequence whom else we please.

I am, &c.

SIR,

AS I have with a Success which no Man has yet met with (if I regard the Number of my Readers, and the Sale of these Papers) carried on a Weekly Performance, under this and another Title*, for near four Years; in doing which, it was impossible I could have any other View but the Good of my Country and of Mankind; by shewing them the Advantage and the Beauty of Civil and Ecclesiastical Liberty, and the odious Deformity of Priestcraft and Tyranny: As I have vindicated Almighty God, and

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* *The Independent Whig.*

and the Religion which he has taught us, from the Superſtition, Follies, and Wickedneſs of Men, who would proſtitute it to Ambition and Avarice, and build a viſionary Empire upon the plain and ſimple Precepts of Chriſtianity; and have endeavour'd to remove all the Rubbiſh, Grimace, and Pageantry, with which it has been long ſtifled and oppreſs'd, by ſhewing to the World, and I think proving, that true Piety conſiſts only in honouring the Deity, and in doing good to Men, and not in Poſtures, Cringes, and canting Terms, and in barren and uſeleſs Speculations: As I think I have unanſwerably ſhewn that Civil Governments were inſtituted by Men, and for the ſake of Men, and not for the Pride and Luſt of Governors; and conſequently that Men have a Right to expect from them Protection and Liberty, and to oppoſe Rapine and Tyranny wherever they are exercis'd, and have thereby vindicated our preſent Eſtabliſhment, which can pretend to no other Title.

As I have done all this openly, and in the Face of the World, and have defied and call'd upon all the mercileſs and deteſtable Advocates for Superſtition and Slavery, to ſhew that I have tranſgreſs'd the Rules of Morality or Religion, or the Peace and Happineſs of Society in any Reſpect; and no one has yet dared to enter the Liſts againſt me; from whence I may reaſonably hope that I have removed many of the Prejudices imbib'd by Education and Cuſtom, and ſet many of my Countrymen free from the wild, wicked,

and

and ſervile Notions, ſtrongly infus'd and planted in their Minds by Craft and Deluſion. — I ſhall now with Cheerfulneſs lay down this Paper, which I am well informed will be continued by an able Hand, under another Name, and upon various Subjects; and it is probable that I may ſo far join in the Undertaking, as to give my Aſſiſtance now and then, when proper Occaſions require it; at leaſt, I am not determin'd not to do ſo.

There are ſome Papers, eſpecially thoſe ſign'd *Diogenes*, which have given an undeſigned Offence to ſome, whoſe Perſons I honour, and whoſe Opinions I reverence. For I have no Regard to the Perſons, and narrow Notions of Bigots, who will renounce any Opinion as ſoon as it appears to be rational, and would rather make Nonſenſe of it, than not make it a Myſtery. It is a Principle become conſtitutional to me, that God gave us our Underſtandings to uſe them, and that we cannot offend him in carrying them as far as they will carry us. However, as the principal Queſtion handled in thoſe Papers is a Matter of meer Speculation, underſtood but by few, and to be underſtood but by few; the Belief or Disbelief of it, can no Way affect human Society; and whether it be true or not, the Actions of Men will be the ſame, and Men will be alike actuated by the Motives that operate upon them, and equally purſue what they take to be their Advantage upon the whole, at the Time, and in the Circumſtances they are then in, whether they

are oblig'd to do ſo, or chuſe to do ſo, without being neceſſitated to that Choice.

What led me into this Thought, is the Obſervation which runs almoſt through the World, that the Bulk of Mankind in all Ages, and in all Countries, are violently attach'd to the Opinions, Cuſtoms, and even Habits, which they have been us'd to; that Sounds, Shews, Prejudices, vain and idle Terrors, Phantoms, Deluſions, and ſometimes Diet and Phyſick, are more prevalent with them, and operate more upon them than true and ſtrong Reaſons; and that all Animals of the ſame Species act in the ſame Manner, and have the ſame Paſſions, Senſations and Affections, with very little Alterations: All which I could not account for, but by ſuppoſing thoſe Operations to be mechanical, and the Reſults of their ſeveral Conſtitutions, as they were altered and modified by Habit, and by different Occaſions or Motives of making uſe of them, which acted upon them.

For the reſt, I ſaw, with a ſenſible Concern, the many Miſchiefs which the Leaders and Deceivers of Parties and Factions in Religion did to the World, by throwing God's Judgments at one another, and by impiouſly confining his Providence and Mercies to themſelves, and by applying the common Phœnomena and Events of Nature to their own Advantage, and interpreting the ſame as Denunciations of his Wrath againſt their Enemies; by which unhallowed Preſumption they have rais'd up and inflam'd implacable Hatred,

Hatred, Animosities and Uncharitableness amongst Men of the same Nation, who are all Brethren. I have therefore shewn, that the Almighty dispenses his Favours to all his Creatures; that his Sun shines upon the Just, and upon the Unjust; and that it is the highest and most daring Boldness in any sort of Men to search into, and to pretend to unriddle the secret Dispensations of his Providence; to know his Mind before he unfolds it; to throw about such Balls of Contention and Wrath; and to make the Condition of Men, already too miserable by the Lot of Nature, still more miserable.

I saw the many Evils and barbarous Consequences arising from the idle and foolish Stories of Witches, Spirits, and Apparitions, first infused into our tender Minds by Nurses, Chamber-Maids, and old Women, and afterwards continu'd and improv'd by Tutors and Priests; which Impressions and Stories the wisest and bravest Men often carry about them to their Graves, and which make them always uneasy till they go thither; insomuch, that Numbers of People dare not be alone, nor go about their necessary Affairs in the Night-time; but are kept in constant Dread of Phantoms and Non-entities; and Multitudes of Innocents have been murdered under the Appearance of Justice upon Satan's Confederates. I have therefore shewn, that there is no Foundation in Nature, in Reason, or in Religion, for these Fairy Tales; that they are inconsistent with the Mercies, and even with the Being, of the great and good

God; and that the telling or believing of these Tales, is endeavouring to give an Empire to the Devil at the Expence of the Almighty.

It is certain, that the Capacities of Men would carry them much further than they are suffer'd to go, if they were not cramp'd by Custom and narrow Education, and narrow Principles taken from those who design and derive Advantages from their Ignorance. I have therefore lamented to see Men of large and extensive Genius, such as seem'd design'd by Nature to carry human Knowledge many Degrees further than it has yet gone, and to manumit their Country and Mankind from the servile and wicked Notions infus'd into them by prating Pedants and babling Impostors; I say, I have lamented to see such extensive Capacities employ'd and conversant only about Whims, idle Speculations, empty Notions, Fairy-Dreams, and Party-Distinctions, all tending to contract and imbitter the Mind, to stifle and oppress the Faculties, and to render Men Dupes and Machines to the Ambition, Pride, and Avarice, of selfish and haughty Ecclesiasticks, or of corrupt Statesmen. Nor can I see how this great Evil can ever be cured, till we change the Education of our Youth; and let Gentlemen be bred by Gentlemen, and not by Monks and Pedants, whom yet I would suffer to dream on with their Bellies full of College-Ale, and their Heads full of College-Distinctions; but I think they ought not to be trusted with the

Educa-

Education of our Nobility and Gentry, till they have ſome themſelves.

And now I beg Leave again to repeat, that it was impoſſible I could engage in this Undertaking ſo troubleſome to my ſelf, and I hope of ſome Benefit to my Countrymen, with any View to my own perſonal Advantage. I hope no one will think ſo meanly of my Underſtanding, to believe that I intended to make my Court to any of the Powers of this World, by attacking Vice, Corruption and Folly, whereſoever and in whomſoever they were found. I knew that I was to walk over burning Plough-Shares; that I muſt provoke numerous and powerful Societies and Parties; that I muſt diſturb Neſts of Hornets, and ſometimes venture too near the Lion's Den, and perhaps within the reach of *Jove*'s Thunder; that Men in Poſſeſſion of Reverence would not bear being told, that they did not deſerve it; that thoſe who rioted in Power, and upon the publick Misfortune, would very unwillingly hear; that they were truſted with that Power for the publick Advantage, and not for their own; that they were oblig'd by all the Motives of Honour, Virtue, and Religion, to ſerve and protect the People, out of whoſe Induſtry and Wealth they were ſo highly Rewarded; and that they deſerved the ſevereſt Puniſhment if they did otherwiſe. I had all this before my Eyes: But arm'd with Innocence, and animated by Love to God and Mankind, I reſolved to brave the Danger, and was prepared for the worſt that could happen to my ſelf, if I could but

ſerve my Country. And I have brav'd the Danger, and have now the Pleaſure to ſee great Numbers of my Fellow-Subjects approve my Endeavours, and embrace my Opinions. I therefore here lay down this Paper, and with it the moſt virtuous and noble Subject that can employ the human Soul; the Subject of Religion and Government. What remains to be done, I leave to others, and wiſh them Succeſs. I rejoice in the Aſſurance I have, that my * Succeſſor will give equal Satiſfaction to the Town. I am, Sir, to you and all my Readers,

A moſt ſincere humble Servant,

CATO.

FINIS.

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* N. B. *The Letters written by* CRITON, *and printed in the* BRITISH JOURNAL, *may be had of the Publiſher of that Paper.*

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